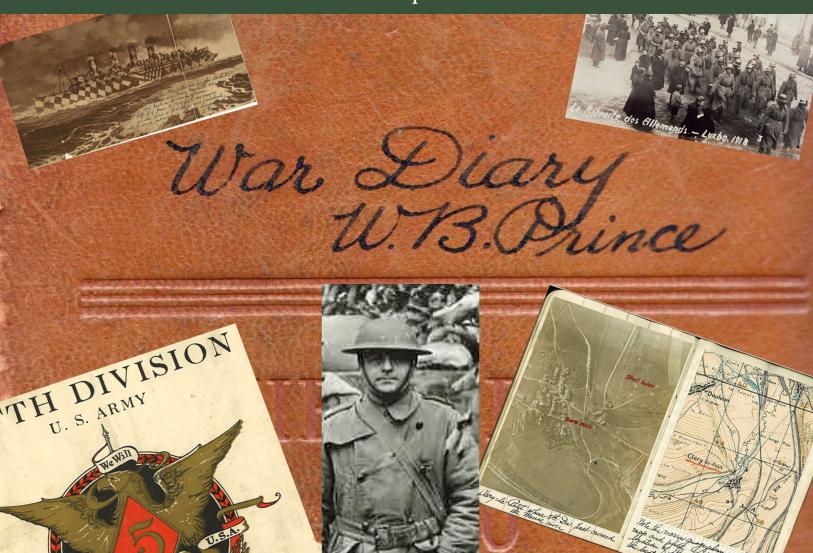
# The Occasional Papers

Series No. 13

A Philip Lee Phillips Map Society Publication

# The Story of a World War I Mapmaker: The War Diary of Willard B. Prince Fifth Division Headquarters AEF Written and Compiled at the Front



With Essay, Transcription, and Analysis
By
Ryan J. Moore

## The Occasional Papers A Philip Lee Phillips Map Society Publication

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**Summer 2017** 

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### The War Diary of Willard B. Prince Fifth Division Headquarters AEF Written and Compiled at the Front

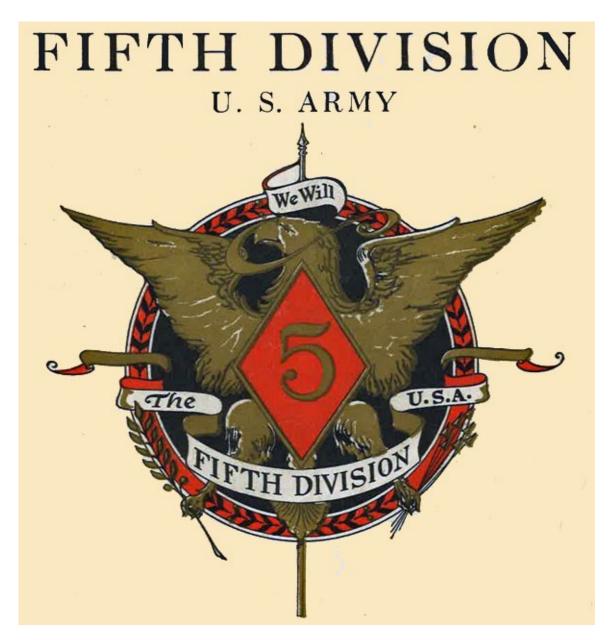
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Willard B. Prince designed the crest for the Society of the Fifth Division. The American eagle, with its widespread wings and fighting spirit, is placed behind the Red Diamond, the insignia of the division. Above the eagle is a banner with the division's motto "We Will." The crest was drawn to adorn banners, plaques, stationery, programs, covers of division publications, such as the division's official history, and any other appropriate use. The artwork represents Prince's longstanding interest in design, which he studied at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts School (Folder 11).

#### The Diary of a "Topographical Man"

The war diary of Willard B. Prince is a window into the life of an American military mapmaker in World War I. It begins in June 1918 with Prince's embarkation for Europe and concludes seven months later with him celebrating Christmas while stationed in Luxembourg. The diary includes a lengthy text along with photographs, maps, newspaper clippings, copies of orders, and other wartime mementos. The diary is part of a larger collection of materials culminated by Prince that includes maps, photographs, writings, and other ephemera. The collection is held by the Library of Congress Geography and Map Division.

The regimental sergeant major was a self-described "confidential man" who served in the 5<sup>th</sup> Division's intelligence section. Although a non-commissioned officer, Prince's role as a mapmaker required that he have access to classified materials from which officers made important operational decisions.<sup>1</sup> His primary duty was to create situation maps and other types of militarily sensitive cartographic materials. He said of his duties on July 6, 1918, "I am working on an observation map for the chief of staff. Also air activity maps and artillery fire." On occasion, Prince was called upon to brief officers, including once General John J. Pershing, the commander of the American Expeditionary Forces.

Prince's journalizing of the mapmaking process in the diary and in his other notebooks are important historical artifacts because World War I was a sea change in the way intelligence was gathered and then documented cartographically. The diary and related notes help illustrate how pairing aerial photographs with gridded maps allowed for incredibly accurate artillery fire and complicated battlefield maneuvers. Prince claimed that he was the first man in the American Army "to be trained in aeroplane photography and work under the French." Whether he was the first remains unverified; however, he was at the forefront of this process as it unfolded.

Strengthening the credibility of the war diary is Prince's distinguished wartime service. The mapmaker received the Verdun Medal and Silver Star among other decorations.<sup>4</sup> Prince was respected by his fellow soldiers, which was reflected in his appointment as a member of the Executive Board of the 5<sup>th</sup> Division Society. The group commissioned him to draw maps for the division's official history in the war. Prince also designed the society's crest.<sup>5</sup>

Soldiering was not Prince's chosen profession, and he sought to return to his life as a civilian after the war. He found work as an assistant advertising manager of the Morse Dry Dock & Repair Company in New York. In 1919, he married Alice E. Ives of Salem, Massachusetts, and by all indication, the couple knew one another prior to Prince's enlistment in the armed forces. Ives had an interest in writing. She wrote and published plays that were performed at local theaters.<sup>6</sup> In 1923, Prince was remarried. He was wedded to Marjorie H. Davis in Brooklyn, New York. Prince's career prospered. In 1935, he conceived of the Heisman Trophy for the Downtown Athletic Club.<sup>7</sup> The idea for the awarded given annually to the most outstanding player in college football was his greatest professional success and an achievement of which he was extremely proud.

A career in marketing and design, however, was not the only pursuit that occupied Prince's attention. Following the war, Prince hoped that his essays would reach the public, but he failed to find a publisher, as stories about the war were plentiful and the topic of maps was not as marketable as tales of combat. Despite this fact, Prince held on to his writings and believed that one day they would serve as documentation of the role of maps in the war. His family helped to fulfill at least part of his wish and deposited his diary along with his unpublished essays, photographs, maps, and other materials at the Library of Congress. Writing in anticipation of the deposit to the Library, he said of the collection, "Today all of these maps are filed in

Washington together with those of former helpless destructive wars. They form a new page of history and the lines we so carefully plotted in them in 'rainy France' will tell their story for generations to come."

What follows is a brief essay about Prince's life. This information is presented to amplify upon the events that he recorded in his diary and fills in the gaps about his personal life and the role of maps in the war. The essay includes insights from Prince's unpublished writings: "Highlights from My Life," a chronological list of events in his life; "Told from the Inside," an analytical review of the war; "Reminiscence of a Topographical Man in the U.S. Army," a brief writing on the importance of maps in the victory over the Germans; "Field Book 2," an explanation of aerial photography and mapmaking. These documents are all part of Prince's collection, which is listed in detail at the end of this publication.

#### **Early Life**

Willard Brackenberry Prince was born in Beverly, Massachusetts, to John Prince and Susan Foster Prince during the Great Blizzard of 1888. By his teenage years, he had developed an interest in design. In 1907, he graduated from Beverly High School and entered Boston Museum of Fine Arts School. During his summers, he worked for President William Howard Taft at the so-called "Summer White House" in Beverly. While there, he had the occasion to meet then U.S. Speaker of the House Joseph Gurney Cannon and befriend Taft's son Charles. Prince was a talented and driven student. In 1911, he graduated at the head of his class and received a scholarship to study in Europe. He sailed for Liverpool and lived in London for six weeks. The young student explored central England by canal boat, and later, he toured Scotland, France, Switzerland, and Italy. However incredible that experience might have been, Prince's life would be dramatically changed when returned to Europe as a soldier in 1918.

Prince's work as a professional designer began in 1912, when he was hired by Rogers, Lunt and Bowlen Co., silversmiths based in Greenfield, Massachusetts. He went on to work for Southgate Press of Boston as a "designer and layout man," where he apprenticed under Henry Lewis Johnson, an authority on typography. In 1915, feeling confident about his professional skills and showing an entrepreneurial spirit, he opened an advertising and commercial art service over Penn's Flower Shop on Tremont Street, Boston, opposite the Park Street Church. He worked there for nearly two years.<sup>10</sup>

#### "Topographical Man"

America declared war on Germany in April 1917, and Prince, like many other Americans, answered the call of duty. Following basic training, he was eventually attached to the 5<sup>th</sup> Division and deployed to France. The AEF needed to bring its "topographical men" up to speed as quickly as possible, and Prince was sent to receive training in aerial photography and mapping from the French and later from the American 29<sup>th</sup> Engineers. The curriculum began with the basics of photographic analysis. Prince was taught to review photographs by looking for shadows and to interpret objects adjacent to them for the purposes of target identification. This was done by assessing whether a shadow was on flat terrain or falling into a recess or ascending along a rise in the land. Then more complex matters were to be mastered. He learned to detect geometric shapes, such as semi-circles that could indicate artillery or machine gun emplacements, rectangles that could be bunkers or barracks, winding lines that often indicated trenches or communications lines, and many others.

Although the World War I battlefield is thought of as a series of static trench lines, Prince learned that it was a dynamic tactical environment. Troops often shifted their positions along the line and minor fortifications were regularly built; such redeployments and construction were done to keep the other side guessing. Therefore, maps had to be updated frequently, sometimes daily. In order determine whether any amendments to a given map were needed, Prince was introduced to the practice of comparing aerial photographs of the same location taken at different times to detect enemy activity. Experienced mapmakers offered tips to Prince and his classmates: "[If] many tracks lead to a certain place it nearly always denotes considerable activity and should be studied for enemy work." The best conditions for detecting enemy movement were snowy or muddy terrain, as these surfaces betrayed the presence of men and vehicles that left impressions upon the ground. Another important clue was the presence of smoke clouds over enemy territory, which the likely source was among convoys, kitchens, or the construction of defenses.

Prince graduated to transferring intelligence gleaned from photographs to documenting those details on gridded topographic maps. He learned how to employ color schemes to depict battlefield situations. Red lines indicated friendly forces and enemy troops were depicted in blue. Whereas violet, brown, green and yellow lines denoted a succession of locations that were to be shelled, and final objectives were indicated in black. Prince applied these cartographic methods to create a variety of maps that included:

Radio Stations, Pigeon Stations, Telephone Liaisons, Travel Routes, Supply, Food, and Munition depots, Searchlights, Organization of ground and battle order, First aid and Dressing stations, Anti-aircraft defense with machine gun stations, Shelled districts and passages, Tank obstacles & mine works, Artillery barrages, Machine Gun emplacements & areas of activity, French zones of cantonment, Location of troops to date, Work of Engineers, Observation Posts & Listening Posts, and Water Supply and Springs.<sup>12</sup>

#### Realities of War

Prince was introduced to the reality of war by the way of the 5<sup>th</sup> Division's local attack at Frapelle, France. His role in the action was to help map the assault plans and then to cartographically depict any changes in the line. Prince, like most of his fellow Americans, had never experienced combat, and his initial excitement was quickly subdued by the subsequent death and destruction. He waited for the battle:

[I] am lying awake to hear it start. Ambulance 29 will convoy patients and all is ready. Our maps are complete and I know by heart what regiment must do. 1,500 high explosives and 900 gas shells will start it and then over we go... 4 a.m. and objective reached...We have much to learn and this taught us much. Our barrage went too fast but the men did wonders. Patients coming fast and at 5 o'clock and also prisoners. [I] am plotting new lines... We have had too many casualties... Horrors of war seen for the first time.<sup>13</sup>

There was little time to reflect, however, as it was critical for mapmakers to immediately update changes in the position and disposition of forces following each action. He said of the pressing matters before him, "Aviators bring in pictures and we locate trenches, supplies, guns and we give the range to artillery." Despite the pressure and stresses involved, Prince's efforts were noted by the command, and he was promoted to sergeant, jumping the rank of corporal. He had been on the job for only three months, but rapid promotions were common in times of war. Prince eventually was promoted to regimental sergeant major.

Although not regularly on the frontline, mapmakers like Prince were not free from of the dangers of war. Often Prince was exposed to attack by German artillery and planes. These violent intrusions were part of the rhythm of life that cycled between long stretches of boredom

and short episodes of complete terror. In one such example, Prince noted that one moment he was "going to the mess" and in the next, a German plane flew overhead and anti-aircraft guns fired upon it. Shrapnel from the overhead explosions rained down and nearly hit him. He shuttered when seeing how the metal tore a sizeable hole in the road. Prince recognized how close he was to death or maiming. More life-threatening episodes followed. The most "perilous day" of his life was on September 11, 1918, when an ammunition truck, which he had hitched a ride upon, rounded a hill and broke down in direct view of German guns that promptly opened fire. The truck halted a convoy that had enough ammunition "to blow up the world," and Prince and a friend narrowly escaped on foot. 16

#### Civilian to Soldier

Thrown into a world unlike he had ever experienced before, Prince quickly adapted to the life and language of soldiers at war, in particular using slurs to describe friend and foe alike. Prince, like most Americans, derided the Germans as "Boche" or "Huns," as he hated the enemy that threatened his life and that of his fellow soldiers. The German standard-issue belt buckle that read "Gott mit uns" (God is with us) rubbed him the wrong way, and he wrote that the phrase was "more fitting" for Americans. He had mixed feelings about the French, whom he and most others called "Frogs." Although he respected their defensive fighting skills and sophisticated fortifications, he grumbled about what he perceived as a lack of will to go on the offensive. He mentioned a dislike of the French custom of drinking wine daily and was lukewarm about how they greeted one another with kisses on the cheeks. Once when speaking of American black soldiers, he casually used a racial slur that reflected widespread bigotry in the American military. In World War I, American combat units were racially segregated, and initially, black combat troops were deployed under the French. Only later would some black com-

bat troops be incorporated into American operations, and it was to those soldiers that Prince referred to in his diary. No more is known about Prince's personal feelings concerning race, as he makes no other comment about the subject elsewhere in the diary.<sup>17</sup>

Rough talk was only part of coping with the stresses of war. Prince, like his comrades, engaged in escapism whenever he could. He attended ragtime concerts planned by the Y.M.C.A., which were particularly popular; he went to the movies; and along with friends, he spent time in French cafés where cigarettes and alcohol were *de rigueur*. When it was time to rest, he slept in French homes and barns that were paid for as billets. The countryside accommodations were quite rustic, and sometimes he stayed in close proximity to farm animals.<sup>18</sup> Prince never stayed too long in one place and moved from town to town as the front advanced against the Germans.

The comfort of home was one matter, and a soldier's need for companionship was another. Although stories of soldiers and women in their proximity fill both historical and literary works, Prince's interest in French women is unascertainable. Prince chatted with a woman while on a train, but no other encounter was recorded. This is not a surprise since the object of his affection, Alice Ives, was living stateside, and he mentioned buying gifts for her. Outside the realm of romantic companionship, Prince mentioned meeting different Frenchmen and Luxembourgers, who he found to be congenial and welcoming people.

#### St. Mihiel and Meuse-Argonne Offensives

America's military role in France was to exert pressure on German forces south of Verdun, thereby relieving pressure on that politically critical battlefront that swallowed hundreds of thousands of men. Allied intelligence identified a German salient in the St. Mihiel sector as a target for the Americans. The first major American-led action was fought from September 12

to 18, 1918, involving three corps of the American Army and one supporting French corps under the command of General Pershing. The attack was supported by tanks commanded by Colonel George S. Patton. The offensive was a success, as it caught the Germans in the middle of withdrawal that turned into a near rout, but the Americans suffered some 7,000 casualties.

Prince assisted in mapping the plans for the offensive. The assault utilized a creeping barrage, in which the artillery fired head of the infantry to provide cover. Prince described the dangerous and complicated maneuver:

1:00 a.m. our attack begins and we have been awake all night waiting. Hundreds of huge guns all around us and it sounds like the end of the world. Concussion terrific and I get up and go out in the dark. Continual flash and roar and almost get knocked over. Never saw such a sight and this surely is war. Barrage keeps up until 5 a.m. and then every gun in all divisions and coast artillery turn loose on a rolling barrage. Our boys of the 6th and 11th go over the top at exactly 5:15 behind the barrage. Just daybreak when a continuous line of flashing bayonets glisten and the line starts. Daylight and see hundreds of planes and our planes are directing the artillery fire. <sup>20</sup>

The Americans gathered much intelligence during the battle from captured German maps and prisoners. The German mapping was precise: "We found several artillery firing boards with fine maps on them and scaled off to show the range of all French cities in this sector. All French batteries were shown so that the guns could be instantly placed them." Prince had occasion to speak with some of the prisoners, who said that American troops "walk[ed] right into the open and [took] long chances." These comments were true, as Americans sometimes charged across open ground against fortified enemy positions.

The battle produced tensions between the rank and file and the leadership. Prince wholeheartedly respected the courage of the infantry and non-commissioned officers who "get the most credit for taking the men over the top and case after case is shown where commissioned officers remained in dugouts out of danger instead of being with their men." He found it "deplorable" when officers refused to give up their accommodations to wounded enlisted men who needed a clean and comfortable place to recover.<sup>23</sup>

Following St. Mihiel, the American pressure against the Germans continued unabated. The Americans, as part of a wider Allied offensive, initiated the Meuse-Argonne Offensive on September 26, 1918, which lasted until the November 11<sup>th</sup> Armistice. Prince was one of the more than a million American and Allied soldiers under the command of General John J. Pershing who battled some 450,000 German and Austro-Hungarian soldiers, including some elite German divisions. The 5<sup>th</sup> Division, however, was not immediately sent into action but anticipated deployment into battle. Prince worked diligently on the preparations:

We issue 5500 maps before 6:30 p.m. Then I go to work on maps and work all night until 5:30 a.m. to finish it. Writing this 6:00 a.m. all in after a trying night and all day before the truck ride. Relief maps are here of the Argonne Forest and we are studying them. We are to take the 37<sup>th</sup> Division's place as they have not been successful and have dropped back after having 3800 casualties and many missing.<sup>24</sup>

Taking part in the advance meant that Prince and his fellow mapmakers worked in makeshift conditions that were often very dangerous. "At 6:45 a.m. October 13 I set up a table in woods between the general's dugout and G-3 for work. Shells drop very near and I wonder when I shall have to run."<sup>25</sup> As the attack progressed, accurately mapping the advance proved increasingly difficult: "For a time it was possible to keep a location map of our divisional and

attached artillery, but after the 21 October our advance became so rapid that the big guns never remained in one place for length of time and consequently could not be located on the maps."<sup>26</sup> Officers confused about the location of their units visited Prince and his fellow mapmakers to get the most current information on the developing situation. Prince said, "These were times when we recorded our front lines at certain points only to have an angry officer come in and say he had been miles beyond these points. Unless his line had a tendency to approach too near Berlin, we would humor along and place his line in lightly only to be erased later."<sup>27</sup>

The hard-driving American forces had the Germans on the run. Prince noted evidence of their hasty retreat, "All along the way a wonderful sight. Everything strewn about showing the wild exit of the Boche. Guns, shells, helmets, potato masher bombs, 28 burned airplane, wrecked truck, big guns and other things everywhere." The Americans and their allies remained in hot pursuit. Although the men heard rumors that the Central Powers intended to quit the war, the end came as a surprise. Prince expressed relief: "This morning as I stood in mess line, I was called out and had to fix up a map for the corps and learned that the Armistice had been declared. Everyone very jubilant and all glad it's over."

#### **Armistice and After**

The Allied Hundred Days campaign broke Germany's will to carry on the war. On November 11, the guns fell silent and the Armistice went into effect. While a cause for celebration, soldiers at the front were unsure of Germany's true intentions. Prince recalled the cautious feelings of the men, "When Germany hedged about signing the peace treaty, we had maps and full details of the crossing of the Rhine and the occupancy of Berlin itself. We also had an elaborate system of secondary defense in case the Germans struck back but happily they were never used." <sup>31</sup>

Prince's unit was sent to Luxembourg after the war, and he noted that the Germans looted towns and cities during their retreat. The people, free of the occupying enemy, were relieved when American troops arrived and greeted them with makeshift American flags. They expressed their gratitude to the Americans by providing rooms and laundry services without charge. While in such a welcoming environment, Prince and his fellow troops found joy in sightseeing, talking to children, and enjoying the good taste of the local chocolate and beer. Prince said of the experience, "I like the people and country about as well as any I have seen this side of the water."

Prince's final entry into his diary concerned a gathering at Christmas: "We have a delightful time there each evening with piano and violin. We are to have a goose dinner and it is a white Christmas. No work and expect a good day about town. We went to our cafe and borrowed a piano for music and singing at our Christmas dinner."

#### Conclusion

Prince was one of the hardworking mapmakers that produced some 3.5 million battle maps, 3 million impressions of type, 6,000 contact prints, 500 enlargements, and 800 blue-prints. General Pershing said of mapmakers like Prince, "In considering the work of the various special troops in the [AEF], there is none that has been of more vital importance to successful operations than the work of [mapmakers]. The adequate supply of accurate maps was a vital necessity."<sup>34</sup>

Writing after the war, Prince had some candid insights about the role of maps and mapmakers in the war. He said of his fellow mapmakers, "Who can say then that those men who so impatiently performed their duties... did not render as great a service as their buddies at the front? If the pen is mightier than the sword...The battle map should be counted in with all the other things that go toward winning wars." He was aware, however, that many were ignorant of their importance: "One might well as fight a war without guns [as] without maps—and yet how few of us know of the part the battle maps played in this deadly scientific war." <sup>35</sup>

Prince died in 1949 and was honored by members of the Downtown Athletic Club who eulogized him as a man of "sterling character...gentlemanly demeanor... and a high-minded sense of duty." The club remembered his key contributions, which included publishing the group's journal and being the originator of the Heisman Memorial Trophy. They noted his passion for writing and his articles for publications such as *American Home Magazine*, *American Rose Society* (he was an avid cultivator of the flower), and the *American Geographic Society*. <sup>36</sup>

Clearly both writing and sharing his wartime experience as a mapmaker were importance to Prince. One can only imagine what Prince would have thought had he lived to see his diary published. This writer believes, based on the commentary that Prince left behind, that the mapmaker would have been proud to share his story and story of maps in the First World War. To that end, Prince's diary has been faithfully reproduced and only very minor changes were made for the sake of clarity and consistency. Throughout the text, footnotes have been inserted to amplify upon or clarify a given topic of discussion. Concerning the tone of the diarry, it was written in a terse, active style that creates a feeling of immediacy. It does not contain literary or poetic explorations; rather it is a record of a soldier in the field. The language is sometimes gritty and dark, other times light and seemingly superficial, as these were the moments that Prince experienced.

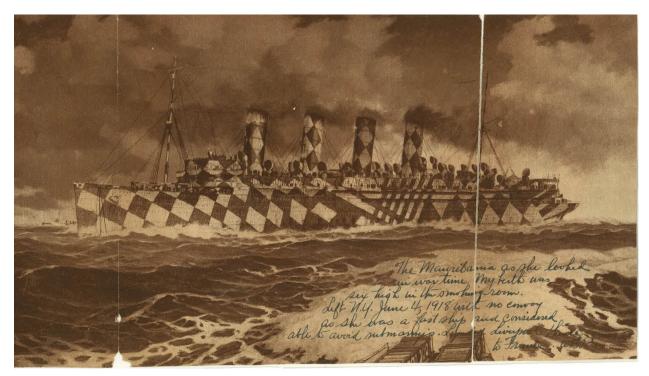
Ryan J. Moore Cartographic Specialist Geography and Map Division

#### **Essay Endnotes**

Note: References for Prince's diary use the page numbers as they appear in this publication, because the original version lacks page numbers.

- 1. "Four letters and one memorandum," [Willard B. Prince collection of World War I maps and other related graphic materials], Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress, G5831.S65 coll .P7 Vault: Prince, Folder 25.
- 2. "War Diary, Willard B. Prince, June 1918 December 1918," Prince Collection, Box 1, 21.
- 3. "Scrapbook page," Prince Collection, Folder 16.
- 4. "Scrapbook page," *Prince Collection*, Folder 19 and 20; "Downtown Athletic Club Journal, October 1949," *Prince Collection*, Folder 29.
- 5. "Division Crest Design by Willard B. Prince," *Prince Collection*, Folder 11.
- 6. Catalog of Copyright Entries (G.P.O.: Washington, 1916), Part 1, Volume 13, Issue 1, 381.
- 7. "Permanent Record and Data Book," *Prince Collection*, Box 28 and "Downtown Athletic Club Journal," *Prince Collection*, Folder 29.
- 8. Willard B. Prince, "Told from the Inside," *Prince Collection*, Folder 4.
- 9. "Permanent Record," Prince Collection, Box 28.
- 10. *Ibid*.
- 11. "Field Book 2, September 30, 1918," Prince Collection, Box 2.
- 12. *Ibid*.
- 13. "War Diary," 25.
- 14. *Ibid.*, 20.
- 15. *Ibid.*, 24.
- 16. *Ibid.*, 29.
- 17. *Ibid.* 25, 31.
- 18. *Ibid*. 27.
- 19. *Ibid.* 21, 27.

- 20. Ibid. 29.
- 21. Ibid., 31.
- 22. *Ibid*.
- 23. *Ibid*.
- 24. Ibid., 34.
- 25. Ibid., 38.
- 26. "Topographical Man."
- 27. "Permanent Record."
- 28. German grenades.
- 29. "War Diary," 45.
- 30. Ibid., 47.
- 31. "Permanent Record."
- 32. "War Diary," 50.
- 33. *Ibid.*, 51.
- 34. Richard T. Evans and Helen M. Frye, *History of the Topographic Branch (Division)*, (Reston, Virginia: U.S. Geological Survey, 2009), 105.
- 35. Willard B. Prince, "Battle maps of Napoleon, Foch and Pershing...," *Prince Collection*, Folder 8.
- 36. "Downtown Athletic Club Journal, October 1949," Prince Collection, Folder 29.



"The Mauretania as she looked in war time. My berth was six high in the smoking room. Left N.Y. June 4, 1918 with no convoy as she was a fast ship and considered able to avoid submarines. Landing Liverpool there to France." – WBP

The *RMS Mauretania* was a British luxury ocean liner that held records for size and speed. During the war, it was converted to a troopship and was painted with "dazzle camouflage" to help conceal its heading and speed from German submarines (Folder 7).

#### The War Diary of Willard B. Prince

Arrive at dock N.Y., June 4, 1918, at 8:30 a.m. from Camp Upton. Very tired and hungry and Red Cross gave us rolls and coffee which were greatly appreciated. *Mauretania* fourth largest boat and the present fastest.<sup>1</sup> 7500 troops on board. No convoy until off Ireland because of ship's speed and ability to take care of itself. Gun practice excellent and interesting. Best gunners of English Navy and six fine guns. Off Ireland a convoy took us through until danger was gone. Five torpedo boats of US Navy...No# 25 chases a sub and leaves the others.<sup>2</sup> We hear that 5<sup>th</sup> Division's Ammunition train was torpedoed on the day we left N.Y. Sub was doing business off Delaware coast.

Liverpool, a fine welcome and we arrived about 3 p.m. Band to meet us and marched through city to station. People said Americans are coming and remark about our carefree expressions. Crowds everywhere and very inspiring to us all. Good seats in train and route through Manchester and Birmingham. All the boys greatly impressed with the neatness and clean looking homes and gardens. Great welcome with flags all along the way. Stopped at Derby and had coffee and cakes free and then on again not knowing just where. Ride all night and get out at 4:30 a.m. at Ramsey near Winchester. March through sleeping town to Morn Hill Camp<sup>3</sup> where Americans have a base hospital and tentage for rest camp. Gardens beautiful and tents pitched in them. Boys have trouble with money. English rations very meager and shows how war affects the country.

June 14 - leave Ramsey and march twelve miles with full packs to Southampton. Terrible march but beautiful scenery. Boys drop out from exhaustion and we all arrive at Southampton at noon. Eat dinner in common and march into docks and board boats. Our boat the *Antrim of Belfast* and just as we are to start they say all off. Boat's condemned and no one sails to-

night. Back to rest camp in Southampton again arriving at 10:30 p.m. and no supper.

Next day nothing to do but get needed rest, and Fred and I get to town. Fine estates and most of them given over to the Red Cross. Many folks in black and scores of wounded in wheel chairs and on crutches etc. Nurses everywhere and ambulances busing from the docks. Fred and I see the city gates and Titanic Memorial.

Next day march to steamer again and board the Marguerite, a French side wheeler. Crowded and not a good looking craft. Leave England at 4:00 p.m. and sail out through a mined harbor. Narrow curved channel far from regular course. See six torpedoed ships afloat at anchor and they are not very cheerful looking. English destroyers meet us at harbor mouth and they cut into the foam and pitch a great deal. We follow along by Portsmouth Navy Yard and it has been calm and the boys tell me that they don't see how the channel can cause so much seasickness. I tell them to wait an hour more and then tell me what they think. Fred, Ray and I found a wide seat on the main deck and lay down as it was getting dark and beginning to blow around the Isle of Wight very hard. The torpedo boats have increased in number and are zigzagging across our bow. We got no sleep and scores are sick. It got very rough and the old side wheels got an awful racking. About 3:30 a.m. it quieted a little and we knew it must be the French coast. Went on upper deck and it was bitter cold but could see land and dawn. The destroyers were throwing phosphorescent lights on the water where they burned for a long time. Some reached the outer harbor and see huge transports camouflaged and at anchor. Every boat has guns and soon a captive observation dirigible comes out, towed by a tug. Our convoy leaves us and we dock after a long tedious wait.

The dock at Le Havre has an immense hospital and many ambulances hurrying to and fro. We marched across docks to Rest Camp No. 2. All nations represented by soldiers. We use French money for the first time and the boys find it easier than English money. I meet Mr. Merrill of Salem in Y.M.C.A. work on June 17. We sleep in coal sheds and eat in an English mess. Food good but sparse.

Havre is present capital of Belgium and that money much in use here.<sup>4</sup> I buy an English knife off a one-eyed English sailor who had carried it through the Dardanelles. He was broke and I only paid half a crown. Left Havre 9:30 p.m. for the front in a rainstorm. Got a fair view of the city.

Traveled two nights and slept on floor eight men to a compartment. Went via Mantes, Vaux, Triel Bourget, Noisy, Nougat, Longueville, Chartres, Troyes, Bayel, Epinal, Bruyares to Grandmer.<sup>5</sup> This is a fine town of importance in Vosges Mountains. Town had been bombarded and shrapnel marks, shattered glass etc. showed results of Boche effort.<sup>6</sup> This is a mutual agreement town now with a German town 5 miles over the mountains. Anti-aircraft guns on all hills.

Left on trucks up the mountains to Corcieux. Pass many Canadian lumber regiments and admire spruce forests. Sleep in old barn. Fine scenery mountain towns with red tiled roofs. Pro-German town. First night two soldiers killed by townsfolk who favor Germany. Warned to walk in groups of two or three at night. We are near Fraize. It was shelled last night. Guns heard all evening. Cafe de Piste celebrated our first night. When 5<sup>th</sup> Division got to front Germans had a sign up on their trenches "Welcome 5<sup>th</sup> Div." Spring where Germans and French washed clothes on alternate days. Our troops changed things though.

Left Field Hospital 30 on June 22.8 Was told to report for detached service at Division Headquarters at Gerardmer. Was taken in a car to Commanding General's office. Go to work in Intelligence Dept. G-2. Work on secret maps.9 Billeted in French home. Small room but fine bed. 6th Infantry Regiment band concert each afternoon. Work long hours and Sundays. Begin on aeroplane photographs. Fine lake here, beautiful scenery. Off streets at 8:45 p.m., no lights and shutters because of planes. Street lights blue glass. Wear tin hat on rainy days.

June 26 - eating supper and got first bombardment. Boche plane came over with one gun shooting high explosives and shrapnel. He got away. Work on secret maps today. Fine food with lot of figs. French have brought machine guns out of barracks. Third plane in 24 hours. Enemy is just photographing. Many hit in square by dropping shrapnel. Go to 33<sup>rd</sup> French Army Corps to make drawings and study photos. Meet Andre and we go to the cinema after we are through at 8 p.m. almost got lost going home as no lights.

Sunday evening go over to Field Hospital 163 set up in Hotel de Lac and see many French wounded then to lake and enjoy sunset and boats. Work every day at French Corps and on photos. Getting wonderful experience. Aviators bring in pictures and we locate trenches, supplies, guns and we give the range to artillery.<sup>12</sup> Also do relief map with the electric light.

Fourth of July - worked in morning. City decorated with French and American flags. Band concert. Sports by French and Americans near lake. French like ragtime. Evening at Casino. Perhaps the most spectacular event I ever witnessed. Hundreds of French and American soldiers sit in commemoration of the Declaration of Independence. Generals McMahan and Conte drink toasts to each country and the spirit is splendid. Swiss, Italians and French and American singers. Names of Lafayette and Washington are linked. Great cheers and *Vive America*. Home in the dark very difficult.

First letters came dated June 7. Getting first news from the front. French man tells me of a sick friend who has a castle in the Alsace Mountains but now occupied by Germans. He was obliged to shell his own castle and ruin his house of three years ago. We have started to shell Muenster a German city.

July 6 - I am working on an observation map for the chief of staff. Also air activity maps and artillery fire. French hospital sergeant shows me twelve of our 11<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment boys who have been gassed and just in from the trenches. Feed them milk as a gas poisoning antidote. Cough a great deal and low temperature. They wore their masks for 48 hours and then got the old gas in the trench.

July 8 - 5<sup>th</sup> Division's ammunition train showed up here today. Were torpedoed off Atlantic coast and lost most of baggage. New train was formed. Y man tells me how Napoleon's bronze monument in Paris was bombed.<sup>13</sup>

Today read the *Covington* was sunk and six lost going back to states.<sup>14</sup> Saw her as she was bound out of N.Y. Work on new maps today of sector further north. Spent evening with Andre Morgnet at Cafe de Gave' and had pleasant talk of Paris where he lives. He went to the Beaux Arts etc. Brought in liquid fire machine and German gas mask etc. as first trophies.<sup>15</sup>

July 12 - at 3:56 p.m. left Gerardmer for Chaumont and Pershing's Head Quarters with Rob. Along the way in train see quantities of wild foxglove and Scabiosa. In our compartment were two Frenchmen and two women. Slept all night at Epinal, fine city and large. Went to Foyer du Soldat built by French government and maintained by Y.M.C.A. Building was old theater and slept in auditorium.

July13 - Epinal to Chalindrey. Stand in corridor of train and give girl a cigarette which she smokes and we converse. Leave Chalindrey at 1:45 p.m. to Chaumont on Paris express.

Ride 1st class with Postman in his compartment. Arrive at Chaumont and report to headquarters G.H.Q.2. Truck takes us 18 miles to Langres where school is and we arrive late and are quartered with 29<sup>th</sup> Engineers.<sup>16</sup>

Sunday, July 14 - Bastille Day and no work as it's a holiday. Rob and I go to a great review of French and American troops in a wonderful old park. An American band there too and people have fine decorations. See Croix de Guerre presented by French general and the usual kissing on both cheeks. Then we visit the shops and see the city which is very old. Eat at French café decorated with red poppies, white daises and blue bachelor buttons. Waitress pins colors on us and meal good. Walk around city on old walls. Very interesting and historic. Come back to park for concert.

July 15 - start study of aeroplane photography.<sup>17</sup> Hard trying work. Like town but not the camp. Learn the importance of camouflage. Saw fellow who saw Capt. Statch and he is buying land for cemeteries. Had a bath in the Marne. This river starts near here from three springs. Lots of boys here from Chateau Thierry. French put wine in all coffee and am sick of it. Boys all call them Frogs.<sup>18</sup>

July 21 - went over to Fort Belle Fontaine to see captured German gun that blew up killing three Americans. Go to hospital in old church and see the wounded. Rob and I pick lots of gooseberries. Then sit on a high bank and sketch and study contours and French scenery for photographic work.

July 24 - left Langres for Chaumont at 3 p.m. by truck. Long ride but beautiful all along the canal. Glad to leave Langres as there was no water there and too many officers. Finished with restitution and must have finishing touches in map printing processes. Pass Pershing's home just outside of Chaumont and then report to G.H.Q. Quartered with Casual Company No.

1 and continue study. Every morning at 11:30 a.m. see beautiful guard movement by Marines in front of Pershing's office. Best in U.S. army with full military band. <sup>19</sup> Learn several days' work in short time by hard study.

July 27 - left Chaumont go to Chalindus Espinal up through mountains under bad conditions. Slow train and pitch dark and rainy. Arrive at 10:30 a.m. in a small station and wait 1 1/2 hours for train to St. Leonard. Arrive there and trains go no further because of Boche planes. Rob and I got off with an Italian, a Canadian, six French soldiers and two women. We got here at 12:45 a.m. and all of us slept in a small room 20 ft. square on the floor. Awoke next morning by station master stomping about my feet. Make up our packs and get aboard Franklin truck bound for St. Die. Pass through several towns all blown to pieces and first view of real war. Arrive in St. Die and find headquarters. Very fine town but badly bombed. Like very much. We are first Americans here and much liked.

Meet Field Hospital 30 boys who are working in St. Charles hospital. Civilian population getting only 50 grams of bread a day. Saw a man drop from starvation. We are sleeping in a fine place over hqs.in the Bishops palace with stained glass windows. General's room directly below. Great clock strikes every 15 minutes. Lay in bed every night looking out of window to see artillery flashes. We are only 3 miles from the front and beginning to see the real war. Every night at dark they begin a bombardment of the Germans. Also move thousands of troops under cover of darkness. 75mm and 105mm cannons go through all night. Air map work getting tremendously interesting and making a close examination of Boche defenses.

Sending out patrols every night and doing lots of artillery work. Last night we lost our first Captain, Capt. Graham, who led a patrol into no man's land. They struck wire and made a noise and Boche got him with machine guns. Enemy planes are coming over every day and ex-

pect they know much of our movements. We have few American planes to engage them with. Just found out General McMahon comes from Utica and is intimate with Pershing having been a classmate of his West Point. Hear that the 2<sup>nd</sup> Division had a casualty list of 60%. We are having tremendous plane battles overhead. Lost another captain and three more men last night. Bought silver wrist tag. First American steel gun carriages are arriving and Frogs most interested. Have my picture taken with the Frogs and send it home.

Today, August 1 - put twenty new machine gun positions on my map. Work three days with Col. Allue in locating all machine guns and their traverses. Getting ready for our first offensive. Tonight had some mean ice cream. First in France and very expensive. Had my first escape from shrapnel this morning while going to mess. There was a Boche plane overhead and they were shelling it as he was low. Piece of metal missed me by a few feet and tore a hole in the road beside headquarters. We have a cave to go to in case of bombardment.

August 2 - sees me looking at a wonderful sunset over the mountains. In an hour the artillery will commence and it will flash all night. Have been up to the cemetery to see where Capt. Graham and his men were buried. Very impressive sight. A simple white cross with their identification the top and on the back these words: "Died for France." Also saw scores of German graves all given a decent burial and marked "Allemand Soldats". They died nearby in 1914 where they got this time and held it for fourteen days. All French graves decorated with the Croix de Guerre. Met our chaplain there and he is a fine fellow. Got letters of July 11. Saw Fred and the boys and they all have cooties. 22

August 8 - days of unrest for the people of St. Die. So many [present] Americans may cause a bombing here. Civilian population are leaving Senmis, a German city just over the line. We are to start something here before we move but will have to depend on French artillery as

ours is not set up. We expect gas and looks like trouble as Huns are active.

Last night eighteen of the 6<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment were lost by a surprise attack. Spy in the 11<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment went over to the Boche while boys were repairing wire. Was of German parentage and will probably get a German commission. I make programs for officers' movies in spare time. While we are holding this section we get regular reports and keep up maps of it all. Very interesting and I know where every one of our 30,000 men are at all times. Small attacks have shown that the enemy is leaving infernal machines behind them.

August 15 - recommend as a corporal by Lt. Devereaux but must await warrant. We are beginning to get pigeons and airmen are arriving. Division will soon be 92<sup>nd</sup> Nigger Division will come here next and the officers are here for instruction.<sup>23</sup> Sector is becoming active.

August 16 - we are launching out first offensive to get Frapelle and straighten our lines. It's a hard place to drive because of mountains. The 6<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment will start it and 11<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment will follow. Am lying awake to hear it start. Ambulance 29 will convoy patients and all is ready. Our maps are complete and I know by heart what each regiment must do. 1,500 high explosives and 900 gas shells will start it and the over we go. Attack started at 4 a.m. and objective reached.

We capture Frapelle and are first American Division into Germany.<sup>24</sup> We have much to learn and this taught us much. Our barrage went too fast but the men did wonders. Patients coming fast and at 5 o'clock and also prisoners. I am plotting the new lines. Boys get their first taste of machine gun fire. We have had too many casualties and my old company has worked night and day for 48 hours. American troops very fast and just will get there. Horrors of war seen for first time. Sumner Bray and Roger Moore transfuse blood but lose both patients. Germans are launching a counterattack and Frapelle is being heavily shelled.<sup>25</sup> Wounded continue

to come in and our General spends much time in hospitals. The boys of the 6<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment are making a great showing. French have tried for two years to get Frapelle but had to wait for us to do it.

French General gives a great commendation and dubs us the "Gallant 5<sup>th</sup>." Boche planes go down over 6<sup>th</sup> Regiment headquarters. And sent up two signal rockets and gave away our position. Had to move lively in hot German artillery fire. Meet Pasqualie and Webster Stuart at Cafe Presper and hear about what happened in the trenches. Jimmie gives me a brass 65mm shell from a mountain battery manned by Americans who shelled Frapelle. Hope to get it home safely.

We study the Germans on this side. Patrols and observers see civilians in German cities and noise in munitions plants. Our men are coming out after twenty-one days of trench life and are going in. Have been declared fit and equipped to meet any emergency now.

August 22 - leave St. Die for Arches area for rest and some big gun training.<sup>26</sup> We are well back of the line but on the Moselle River that planes follow down from German towns and particularly from Metz. Men are getting a well-earned rest. I am billeted in a small French home with a woman and her daughter. Only a hovel but clean and cordial people. Only the officers and we of the NCO staff allowed to roam in town.

Sunday, August 23 - the first real day to myself and best yet in France. Rob and I have a fine time. A perfect day, warm and bright. Went down to the river and washed clothes on flat stone. Then sat in a brook with clear gravel bottom and washed ourselves. I lay down on a hay cot in warm sun and sleep. Awakened by a peasant who wished to spread the hay. I started to work with him and found his hay implements very crude and curious. The country here is beautiful and one cannot imagine a war in progress.

Our troops are located in various small towns and village for ten miles around. Have been over the area and know all their locations. Last night was moonlight and the Moselle was just like a silver thread and a great guide for Boche planes. One came down and we heard him drop bombs at Epinal just north of us. Anti-aircraft guns popped at him all along the hills but he kept just out of range. He passed over town while the people shivered and we could hear him buzz away in the distance.

August 29 - we left Arches for nearer the front and to join the 1<sup>st</sup> Army Corps for important work on offensive lines. Rob and I paid our rent the night before and stole out of the house in the dark at 4:20 AM. Went by truck to Epinal, Charmes, and Dayon to Neuvillers. Arrive at this place just about noon and find it interesting with old historic chateau. I got a real billet and most strange. My room is very clean but smells of the barnyard too. The family consists of a man, wife, and six children upstairs and several pigs, cows, horses, hens, and goats downstairs. Our Division came here entirely by truck, mostly French, and it took 2,000 of them. A most impressive sight. Our office and headquarters in an old chateau which was the palace of the Duke of Lorraine. Fine architecture, iron gate, orchards and gardens. Canal runs through town. Only few houses and very rural.

September 2 - bought linen for Alice.<sup>27</sup> Paid 19 Francs 50 centimes for it.

September 5 - happily surprised on being made Sergeant. Harrison made Sergeant Major. Jumped grade of Corporal and have been with Headquarters only about 3 months. This is in the Regular Army and I have won promotion in action and I hoped it might be instead of in the states. Had a celebration that evening. 35<sup>th</sup> Division passes through town so I got no sleep because very noisy as machine guns, cannon, trucks, and troops pass all night.

Important work planned and new sector studied. <sup>28</sup> Our printing plant working and we work nights. Are to be in a big drive with many other divisions. Leave Neuvillers on September 7, 8 p.m. for all night trip. Darkest night I ever saw and most precarious trip. Drizzle and no stars. Truck train gets lost and we are separated. Have to feel our way and no lights. Almost go into canal in two places. Arrive in Nancy at 12:15 midnight. City very dark but full of marching troops. We haul our trucks into a side street and sleep there until dawn because we can't see to travel further and don't know roads. Ride around city at dawn and see it well. It is beautiful and tremendously large. Went into a ditch with seven other trucks and had bad time. Frog trucks ditched all along the way.

Tremendous troop movement and several divisions I should judge. Arrive at Martin-court at 9 a.m. and pass section of the 2<sup>nd</sup>, 82<sup>nd</sup>, 90<sup>th</sup> and Sunflower divisions.<sup>29</sup> Small town just back of the line and gas alert. Only one truck can enter town at a time because of planes. Bad situation as several battles overhead. Town all surrounded by big guns, as big as 20-inch naval guns. Howitzers everywhere. And can see that there is to be a big affair in this sector. See my first tanks and they look very formidable.<sup>30</sup> We are only 8 kilo from third line and ammunition is going up in great quantities. Little narrow gauge train and trucks loaded. Our position is just southwest of Metz, a German city with tremendous fortifications. I am getting out plans of the drive and objective line. Very secret and only those high up know their full meaning.

Martincourt a poor town. No water, no beer, and can't buy anything yet. Gas alert every moment and enemy planes watching everything. Just found out we are to be a storm division which means we will move often and be in all the big drives. We are ready and all realize the division is up against a real crisis. This is our last move up to the Divisional P.C. by order of GHQ.<sup>31</sup> It's cold and rainy and several big guns are throwing occasional shots which shake us

badly. Town is full of troops, tanks, guns and ammunition trains passing through. Meals have been very bad here and we miss the water badly. No Y and only hard work keep our spirits up. We have one press set up in an old barn and we have printed a thousand maps—just finished. 2nd Division of Marines, best American division, will go in beside us.

September 11 - move to St. Jacques at 8:30 a.m. Most perilous day of my life. Boche have been shelling or roads all night and killed many horses and men which we see along the roadside. One road is closed because no trucks can get by safely. We pass over a hill in full view of German artillery and a Frog truck as usual gets stalled. Leaves our truck in the midst of fifteen more [trucks] of an ammunition train standing in full view and close together, a fine mark. Enough ammunition there to blow up the world. Shells begin to drop around us and Rob and I decide to walk up the hill until the train gets started.

Pass through Marney which is deserted and all ruins and get to St. Jacques by 10:00 o'clock. Fine dugouts here but we billet in barracks under the edge of a steep hill. Have about a dozen cooties and no bath for nearly three weeks.

September 12 - 1:00 a.m. our attack begins and we have been awake all night waiting. Hundreds of huge guns all around us and it sounds like the end of the world. Concussion terrific and I get up and go out in the dark. Continual flash and roar and almost get knocked over. Never saw such a sight and this surely is war. Barrage keeps up until 5 a.m. and then every gun in all divisions and coast artillery turn loose on a rolling barrage. Our boys of the 6<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> go over the top at exactly 5:15 behind the barrage. Just daybreak when a continuous line of flashing bayonets glisten and the line starts. Daylight and see hundreds of planes and our planes are directing the artillery fire. At 9 a.m. prisoners and wounded began to arrive in great numbers. Ambulances rush back and forth. Planes drop Field messages to us and wireless al-

so. The 6<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment refuses to take prisoners and their bayonets show what they did. The barrage lasts 10 hours and has been spoken of by the French as being the most deadly ever seen in France. Artillery is advancing and Boche are now north of Thiancourt. One of our planes just hit the cable to our captive balloon and two aviators were killed. I have their camera on the desk. As attached units in this drive we had 11<sup>th</sup> Groupement of medium tanks, 305<sup>th</sup> Reg. of light tanks both French. Gas and Flame Engineers 59<sup>th</sup> coast artillery, 219<sup>th</sup> French Field Artillery 2 French Battalions of 220s, 12<sup>th</sup> Aero squad of 18 planes, 2<sup>nd</sup> balloon company.

Went over and saw Field Hospital 25 at Metz Bridge road when they were set up. Had a gas alarm and had to walk back with masks on. Gas alarms come every night and hate them. Heavy guns from Metz shelled us this morning and three Frenchmen on a truck and four horses were killed.

Our nearest captive balloon was just hit by a Boche plane and the observer jumped in a parachute. The Boche was an Austrian plane and escaped under fire.

General Pershing came here today and I saw him the second time. He was loud in his praise for the 5<sup>th</sup> [Division] and so I expect much more hard work in other sectors. We are getting lots of German maps and propaganda and they are very useful. We know all about the Boche Divisions opposing us and their strength we have had about 1,400 casualties mostly from the 6<sup>th</sup> and 60<sup>th</sup> Infantry regiments. The 78<sup>th</sup> Division is coming in to relieve us.

Left St. Jacques September 17 and arrived at rest area in Domevre at 10 a.m.<sup>32</sup> Will recruit up, get clothes and supplies, preliminary to our new sector. This is a small town but can buy some stuff and there is a Y. Give souvenirs to Y man to send to Nancy and store. Address to Frank, 346 Madison Ave. New York care Mr. Harry Browne. Sleeping in a barn but clean and have washed clothes and done some odd things.

Amusing story told of what some of the boys did at the front. Germans had great quantities of beer in their dugouts. The boys got this and had a great time. One man was playing a piano in a Boche dugout and ragtime was just pouring out of that cave.

A short youngster of only 18 years could not keep up with the boys and contented himself with bringing in prisoner. Armed with a hand grenade in looked into each dugout and got three or four at each place until he had a string of about forty of them, all with their hands up and yelling "Kamerad!"<sup>33</sup> A German Major insisted that two orderlies go along with him and that he ride in a limousine but a guard answered him by placing a bayonet behind him and the last I saw of him he was hot footing it down the road.

Lots of boys are wearing German belts with these words on the buckle "God with Us."<sup>34</sup> More appropriate on our boys.

We found several artillery firing boards with fine maps on them and scaled off to show the range of all French cities in this sector. All French batteries were shown so that the guns could be instantly placed them. The colors on their map were very brilliant and showed a higher grade of ink than we use.

The non-commissioned officers get the most credit for taking the men over the top and case after case is shown where commissioned officers remained in dugouts out of danger instead of being with their men. Also some cases where wounded men could not find shelter and officers would not give up their beds or shelter. Such cases are deplorable.

General opinion of American fighting is that the men are careless. They walk right out in the open and take long chances. Boche have told us we would have all been killed off had we come in the first years of the war.

Some of our big guns are considered our best friend and worthy of a name. Some of them are called "Miss Liberty", "Dixie Girl", "Peace Talk", "Old Dutch Cleanser" etc. We had one 20-inch naval gun near us that was manned by Jackins and was fired every 8 minutes. It was shelling a road leading into Metz and many Boche planes came over trying to locate it. Then the gun would stop until they had gone away. It worried the Germans a whole lot by its persistence.

The fault we find with the French is that they are in a rut and could never win the war alone. They have to stop fighting every forenoon at 10:30 a.m. and have a lunch of bread and wine. It is a truck is stalled on the road it is Frog truck and they get excited and just make a mess of everything. Their system of defense is wonderful though and their patience has proven very great. Months alone must have been consumed in the construction of their barbed wire entanglements. They are an easy going people though and French shops will close up if they have a good trade rather than make change and meet a rush. Sometimes they hold goods rather than sell them and get very independent.

September 23 - we are at Domevre at rest area. Just laying around but have got a new uniform, underwear, shoes, stockings, etc. Went over and saw Field Hospital 30. Captain Sears had left his company. No water here and poor food. Hear guns nights. Get first bath for a month with five Francs [worth] of cologne. Band concert by 6<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment every evening. Major Parsons made Lt. Colonel. Have good quarters in top of a barn. Plenty of grapes and constant stomach ache. Just hear that Alice has been to Crawford's.<sup>35</sup> Shelling of Metz going on every night. We hear we are to move.

September 25 - last night the boys went over the top again east of Thiancourt. We are in reserve but may be called any moment. The guns have sounded very near to us and the German

have counterattacked very strongly. We are doing all we can to make good use of the good fall weather. Roads are good and no rain for a few days. The barrage this morning sounded good.

September 27 - last night we put over a raid with a box barrage. The purpose was to get prisoners and learn the new German divisions opposing us. We threw out a strong box barrage and took in many prisoners and the scheme worked well. First time I had seen the box work and it's great.

Today, September 28 - we left Domevre at 7:30 a.m. and journeyed via Tremblecourt, Franchville, Toul, Foug, to Pagny-sur-Meuse. Toul was a fine city with large cathedral but full of soldiers. Arrived at Pagny at 10 a.m. and set up office. Near railroad yard and canal. Cold day and my overcoat that have kept only by luck feels good. Sgts. Harrison, Rothfuss, Corp. Robertson and I have little rooms that are quite good. Just got the new German order of battle and it shows the new changes in the line with Frapelle, St. Mihiel, etc. inclusive.

October 5 - we leave Pagny sur Meuse after a short quiet stay there. Go through Commercy to St. Mihiel, stop here and see ruined city and terrible destruction. Get bowl in old ruined house by through ruins. People come out and tell us how they were delivered. Fine city almost destroyed. Thence into no man's land to Verdun. This city once beautiful but now destroyed. Churches, theaters and all in ruins. Ride through the city and then to our new place at Blercourt. Terrible rush and things moving fast. Met Maj. Sears for first time. Get here and Y has a show at 4 o' clock Rhodehever and singers. Can't go but can hear it.

Last of afternoon—just settled and big rush starts. We issue 5500 maps before 6:30 p.m. Then I go to work on maps and work all night until 5:30 a.m. to finish it. Writing this 6:00 a.m. all in after a trying night and all day before truck ride. Relief maps are here of the Argonne Forest and we are studying them. We are to take the 37<sup>th</sup> Division's place as they

have not been successful and have dropped back after having 3800 casualties and many missing. Bought maps at Commercy today.

Today, October 7 - Verdun shelled heavily and a supply dump destroyed. The 26<sup>th</sup> Division and 4<sup>th</sup> are here with us and wish I could see some of the New England boys. News of peace today and the boys are feeling very happy. Went to movies tonight but am very tired and must go out and find a place to sleep probably on the floor of the truck. Studying the Argonne Forest and expect work there soon.<sup>36</sup>

This morning, October 8 - we have completed progress through the Argonne Forest which has been an enemy strong for so long. We now occupy the whole of it and are advancing steadily north. Interesting to know that there are more German divisions opposite our sector than anywhere on the Western Front the line is being pushed back from Verdun and north of the Argonne Forest. We have reached Grande Pre. Capt. Sonmely last night told us that he tried to find the town of Fleury north of Verdun where we lived three weeks but he could not find a sign of it. Last night we were bombed by a plane and three bombs did considerable damage and woke us all up. Tonight I saw a hundred and two allied planes go over toward the lines, the largest number I have ever seen. They were mostly American with some French. We are to relieve the 4<sup>th</sup> and 80<sup>th</sup> divisions and expect an attack with harassing fire the woods being full of machine gun nests.

Sent German helmet home yesterday and it's a fine example of what we give the Boche. Visited the American cemetery yesterday and saw scores of graves. We now have an electric light it up in the truck nights because they won't let us have lights. We are all very anxious to take our third whack at the Boche and get back to a good area. I am to work with Col. Kingman of G-3 operations besides my G-2 work.<sup>37</sup>

Have just learned what the hundred and two planes were. They had both propaganda and bombs and it was said to be the gathering of planes seen on the Western Front. This front where we are is the most important in all France. If we run north to Montmédy or Sedan we can cut off all communication and the whole German line will collapse. How serious the situation is to them is shown by the fact that the 5<sup>th</sup> Prussian Guard and the 5<sup>th</sup> Bavarian Division of reserves beside two other storm divisions have been placed opposite us. These divisions are the pick of the German Army and never used except in great stress. The 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> divisions of USA have been picked to meet them and this tells the story of what Pershing thinks of us. Last night's barrage in the north Argonne lasted all night and was very heavy. Just to show how much we know about the other side of the line. We have just found out that the German 58<sup>th</sup> Corps is opposite us and that Gen. Von Kleist has just returned from leave having been called back.

October 10 - my best day in France. Col. Parsons, Lt. Potts, and a French Captain and I went on a tour in the car to the Verdun front. First went to Verdun and saw it thoroughly and made about 1888 with great forethought. Great halls and barracks finally walled up and where the civilians went.

Then we start for the front. Our French Captain tells us that his regiment held here until almost every man fell but reserves saved the town. We passed over the road where the Boche were stopped. About this time shells were landing about us and we put on masks and tin hats. We came to where Fleury used to be but not a sign of it now, only vast piles of earth as far as I could see. Forest had been moved right off and a great scene of desolation. French soldiers behind great batteries beside the roads tell us we are in danger but we keep on as the Capt. wishes to go up through the Verdun pass to Fort Douaumont.<sup>38</sup> We are obliged to go around a

hill being badly shelled and finally leave the car at the crossroads. Shells begin to fall often and we hesitate about going on. We can hear them pass over the hill though, some fall short.

Nearly to the top of the hill and within 200 yards of the old fort and a big one comes whistling. We go down flat and it breaks fairly on the hillside. The old saying a shell never strikes twice in the same place causes us to go ahead and we do for 50 yards more and another one comes and we go down again. Shrapnel lands all around us. In a few moments comes another until four have landed there and we keep on the ground. All of us decide it was useless to try to make the top so we go back. Dead horses everywhere and graves rudely thrown up. On the way down I find three old Boche bayonets right in the middle of the famous Verdun battlefield. I keep one and give the officers the other. This is my most treasured relic and I send it home.

October 1 - we return home to Verdun again and just as we get in the city a tremendous shell lands within 300 yards of us followed by another close by. Then we are obliged to detour and skirt the city on the south. Got back and had supper and while in the office two bombs are dropped from a plane. All lights are put off and we sit in the darkness for 15 minutes. It has been an exciting day and I know just what no man's land looks like. I find that after your third or fourth shell you can judge where they will land. A great fear changes to confidence in one judgment and it becomes an interesting bit of dope to figure the distance.<sup>39</sup> Verdun is famous for here so many Frenchmen laid down their lives and succeeded in holding the city. The German lines came to a V shape here and a line of such slope cannot be held. So the Boche moved off until now the front line is well clear of the city suburbs. Never will I forget the graves rudely dug but all decorated as a Frenchman does in remembering his comrades. No civilians are living here and I don't see how the city can ever be built.

Today, October 11 - we moved on two hours north to crossroad of Cuisy-Mountfaucon road. All towns in this section gone and no place to sleep except in an old Boche trench. Gordon and I find a shelter half destroyed in trench and reconstruct it making it quite livable and make a fireplace. Keep light inside by spreading old Boche uniform and pack over the crack. We are terribly hungry and no kitchen arrived. In luck, though, for we find two loaves of French bread in a can of corned beef. Make our supper on food actually found and it's not bad at that.

We are right in the midst of eight or ten 150mm and these batteries make a terrible noise and concussion. Every few minutes a rat runs over us to make it more entertaining. It's a rough position to be in besides Fritz starts at dusk to send some shells back.<sup>40</sup> I lie awake in our rude dugout and count the shells as pass and it's very weird. Fritz is after the very batteries we are sleeping near. Two gas alarms during night and daylight we hear nineteen of our boys were caught in what they thought a safe old German dugout made of cement. The Boche remembers these places well and reckons on their being inhabited.

October 12 - I report to Chief of Staff and put in an important day. Our troops are relieving the 80th Division and I have a hard proposition keeping track of the units. Have to send two maps to Corps. We meet our first setback north of Cunel where Fritz sends tanks against us and the 3rd battalion of ours is forced to fall back ¼ kilometer. But it's only because we are not organized. Planes drop us messages all day and I sit in dugout beside Chief of Staff and receive reports and plot them. At 4 p.m. we move again to woods beside Sayel Farm and near Montfaucon.

Put in a beastly night. Rain and no place to sleep, not even trenches. Finally locate a front seat of truck and sleep perhaps an hour or two. Shells pass by us all night and Boche shell

us heavily. We hear them pass and then land where we were the night before and guess we were lucky to move. All night long we see flares, hear machine guns, and figure how near shells will land to us. Really a perilous night and rainy and cold. Montfaucon a strange sight completely in ruins and high in the air. We have an observation post in the church tower.

At 6:45 a.m. October 13 - I set up a table in woods between the general's dugout and G-3 for work. Shells drop very near and I wonder when I shall have to run. My shelter half makes a tent over the table. Quite a busy scene and notice of Germany's acceptance to Wilson's terms of evacuation are causing a lot of interest. Germans are sending over a lot of duds this [morning]. They don't explode and we wonder, what is the meaning?

October 14 - a busy day. Boys go over the top and 60<sup>th</sup> lose nearly 800 men but gain objective. Prisoners come in fast and many badly wounded. Get a Russian who tells us much valuable information. Go to bed early on front seat of truck and have to get right up and beat it as shells come very close from across Meuse. Finally go to sleep but awake again at midnight by shrapnel hitting side of truck. Eight shells break very near and I roll up as small as possible and wait for I don't know what. But after hitting about every place but where I am they change the range and drop them over the woods much to my relief.

This morning October 15 - I set my table up in front of G-3 dugout and my maps showing relieving battalions, front line, direction of fire, shelled areas etc. draw a big crowd of officers. Very interesting work and important. American plane comes over the wood and drops us papers, cigarettes and magazines. At noon I have my picture taken by both movies and by stationary machines. Our line not advancing today but a destructive fire is being put on the point where resistance is made.

October 16 - last night a beastly one. Headquarters troop lost four men and our water wagon that was blown to atoms.

No coffee this morning because nothing to haul water in from a distance. Heavy rain all night and cold. I got a good Boche gas mask last evening. We have put a day's destructive fire with 75mms and 105mms on the Bois des Rappes and then the boys will through back of a rolling barrage. I shaved this morning in mud water and have a dry wash which is quite common now.

This morning, October 17 - Gen. McMahon and Lt. Devereaux left us on short notice and Gen. Ely came as our commanding general. The old general came and said goodbye to me and he was looking quite feeble. A terrible spell of bad weather. Cold and wet all the time and not much to eat. Wash dishes in what is left of our coffee every day as no extra water.

General Ely was with the 2nd Division and with the Marines that did so well. He has made a remarkable record and is well liked. Gen. McMahon has gone to a base division. Our losses have been very heavy and the first two days of the attack we lost 108 officers and 2,865 men mostly from the 60<sup>th</sup> and 611<sup>st</sup> infantries.

The Bois des Rappes is full of machine gun nests and here the boys met hard resistance. We are hard work to get news and reports from the forward brigades because roads are so bad that runners can only be used. No motorcycles or telephone wires are being used. We use pigeons as much as possible but news comes slowly. Our planes went out today for the first time the visibility being good. Several air battles took place and we brought down three Boche planes.

I am very busy but have a fine camouflaged place to work. I like the General very much and do quite a little for him. Conditions are very bad with us though as mud and water are deep

and food very bad. Bread is French and has worms in it and coffee is made from mud water.

Nothing but Corned Willie all the time.<sup>41</sup>

October 19 - got a letter off last night but made it short because no place to write or room. Today we made no advance because of the Bois de Rappes. General Kastner says it's the worst place he has seen. It is all machine guns. We buried 180 of our boys today. Dead men are everywhere at the front and it's a sure enough Hell. We must get through here and then it will be easier going to our objective. We are on ground vacated by Germans only about three weeks ago. All dugouts and construction is German and every day we find things with their marks on it. Have heard gas shells, high explosive shells, 75mm's-37mm's-105mm's, machine guns, rifle shots, hand grenades, bombs, mines and so much stuff for a week steady day and night that I am heartily tired of it all. Still have wet feet all the time and am cold. But its war and we don't complain more than we can help. Planes drop messages to us all the time and we put out the bar within 50 feet of my table when they fire seven shots asking "where are you."

Got some jam today from the commissary and it was a godsend. My friend Reed the observer went up opposite hill 260 to a German O.P. in a tree and found an American Lieutenant and two men dead there. He himself was shot at and had to retire. Our new General full of ginger and will make things move. He is said to have moved his division P.C. seven times in St. Mihiel drive.

October 20 - today great suspense. We put over a heavy barrage this morning followed by infantry attack but reports show our progress to be slow. Casualties still continue and our advance very hard. A cold wet day and I had to pour hot coffee on my shoes to warm my feet. Later we take the Bois de Rappes.

Last night, October 22 - a bright moonlight night, we have been relieved by the 90<sup>th</sup> Division but are still here at our P.C. near Madeleine Farm. Two Boche planes were over all night and four searchlights hunted for them but in vain. Near midnight I awoke after perhaps two shells had struck near the truck. About a dozen more came in the next hour and made it a very uncomfortable place.

Shrapnel flew in all directions and I rolled up in a ball and just waited. My map finished except daily station map as we are again in reserve. All hope we can go back to civilization long enough for a bath, new clothes, etc. No bath for a month now. It's a perfect hell to have to live in these woods with no work to do and we are desperate about wishing to move. Saw Chaplain yesterday and Major Cosgrove our Judge Advocate. They have buried close to 500 men in the last two days and had a terrible ordeal. Our casualties run close to 3,000 men and 200 officers. Practically all of our second lieutenants that joined us at Pagny have had to be replaced as 125 were sent for yesterday.

Last night, October 23 - a Boche plane came over and went directly over our woods and P.C. dropped a green light that hung in the air over the woods. It was signal for the German artillery to fire at this particular place. In about 15 minutes they are crashing over. First came gas shells and then high explosives and shrapnel. Gas did no harm as there was a good current of air away from us but shrapnel hit all around and drove everyone deep into the dugout. No direct hits were made. The shells came from across the Meuse River and have a long range.

Today, October 24 - a good day and we expect lots of planes. Our observation balloon near her makes a great mark and they try all day to get it. Just heard that last night Amt. 30 lost one man and had six others wounded by an aeroplane bomb. This makes something like 4,105 casualties that have gone through our hospitals since the 14th or about 10 days. Only wish I

could get a bath but there is no clean water for miles around.

October 26 - we are to go into the line again and relieve the Division. I have already got my first maps and we are making a reconnaissance of the territory which is right beside the Meuse. We have replaced over a hundred officers and are in fair condition to go in but hope we can do the job quickly.

October 29 - a fine day. At nine this morning nearly a dozen Boche planes came over high in the clouds. Some bombs were dropped near us but I guess they do not know where our P.C. is as it is well camouflaged in the woods. Some of our planes gave chase and there was a great sputter of machine guns and crack of the anti-aircraft. Finally our Boche was seen to plunge straight down and then burst into flames. We are getting some fine photos from our corps avions.<sup>42</sup>

Last night a night of terror to us all. Several Boche planes came over in the evening. We could hear the purr and then the roar of their motors as they came up the valley. We hid every light and waited in suspense. Our search lights could not locate them and several tons of bombs were dropped. All along the valley they came down and concussion was tremendous. He sailed over us for a long time and we put out all the lights and just waited but our P.C. remained untouched. Wild news here that Austria and Turkey have both surrendered.<sup>43</sup>

November 1 - this morning at 4:30 a.m. the 3<sup>rd</sup> Corps started its drive and all along the line the First Army did the same. We sent over a terrific barrage and progress has been fine. Everyone is very enthusiastic and we sure are advancing. My map is very interesting and I have a crowd around all the time.<sup>44</sup> Decidedly cold and damp. Visibility poor and no planes could be seen and hard to get our front line locations because of this. But fog and haze saved us from many machine guns.

We had three Boche to dinner with us and you should see them eat. Took them right into the kitchen and gave a real feed and treated them as Americans would to be treated.

November 2 - and a most interesting day. Our reports from the corps and from GHQ give us much interesting news including the Kaiser's abdicating, Turkey's armistice, general evacuation of the enemy in the next sector to our left and our own good progress. We had a most interesting country ahead of us.

We are to construct three bridges across the Meuse, one for foot troops near Cléry-le-Petit, one for 75mm's, and one for heavy artillery at Dun-Sur-Meuse. My map attracts much attention and just now is very interesting.

November 4 - we leave Bois-de-Tuillerie and go to Cunel. Passing Madeleine Farm the woods are still full of dead Germans and a bad odor. Terrific destruction everywhere. Cunel all in ruins. I go out back of the headquarters to wash my hands in a shell hole and find three dead Germans in it. Souvenirs everywhere and the Boche only gone about two weeks. They left in a great hurry.

We are crossing the Meuse this p.m. near Breulles and over new bridge. Tonight I have taken a walk over the hill back of our place and it is very interesting but also very terrible. Dead Boche all around and those buried have a gun stuck vertically into the grass and the man's helmet hung over the butt. Everything is so strewed around as to denote that the Boche left in a great hurry. I was eating supper on the side of a bank and a fellow made the remark that I was eating pretty close to a Dutchman. I asked him what he meant and he said he had planted one right under me two days ago. As he was not planted very deep I moved a little ways off to eat. A great chance to get souvenirs but will be too busy and can't carry them I am afraid.

November 5 - a very satisfactory day and early this morning we crossed the Meuse River with the  $9^{th}$  and  $10^{th}$  brigades.

Our engineers constructed bridges under cover of a fine barrage that our artillery threw over and heavy pontoon bridge for 155mm's was constructed just south of Dun-Sur-Meuse. Another pontoon for 75mm's was thrown over at Brieulles-sur-Meuse and two more foot bridges for troops. The canal also had to be crossed but this took place and we were able to follow the barrage that stood for one hour before we advanced eastward of the canal. We cleared the hills and are making fine progress. Over 400 prisoners including officers have been brought in and it is much the same exciting time as St. Mihiel days. Traffic going both ways including guns, prisoners, ambulances, and truck trains. Casualties light considering that we are to move to Dun-Sur-Meuse and I expect a fine picturesque place not much shot up.

This is the fourth time our P.C. has moved since we came into this sector October 14.

Our P.C. here at Cunel in an old chateau is full of great holes made by shells.

Some of us sleep in a room where there is a large fireplace and we have a roaring fire at night. The 5<sup>th</sup> Division has struck its own gate and we are advancing fast.

My office is in the cellar but has fine electric lights from our own power plant. Today's advances by the First Army are tremendous and everyone is very happy. We have captured and have just outside of headquarters nearly a whole machine gun battalion of Prussians.

Last night we had a good evening. Everyone was happy because of one day's success and at about 9 o'clock we finished our day's work and six of us gathered in the big chateau room where we sleep. We made a monstrous fire in the in the fireplace and sat around tell experiences for two hours. Someone had found a little candy and so we had a very good time. We discussed what we would do when we got home and I was quite amused by our fellow's

remarks. He said when he returned he was going to marry a certain girl and then search for a candy store. After that he was going to set her to work making flapjacks while he bought a barrel of Log Cabin maple syrup. Hot cakes seem to be the greatest and most popular food in the army.

Yesterday our new bridges were the target for enemy planes. Dun-Sur-Meuse Bridge was bombed but not harmed. Planes flew so low that our boys shot at them with pistols, rifles, anti-aircraft, and anything they could use. Our crossing the river has made a great hit and the American communique has given us great credit for a very fine day of work. Our boys (indecipherable) kilometers yesterday in some places.

This morning, November 8 - we leave Cunel for Dun-Sur-Meuse via Cléry, (indecipherable), and Dolancourt. My map has (indecipherable) and me that Dun is an interesting town and I have longed to see it. Our write-up in the papers-wonderful. The 5<sup>th</sup> Division is mentioned and our crossing the river has been a big thing.

All along the way a wonderful sight. Everything strewn about showing the wild exit of the Boche. Guns, shells, helmets, potato masher bombs, 45 burned airplane, wrecked truck, big guns and other things everywhere. When we get to the river we cross the pontoon bridge and it is a wonderful affair. First one I ever crossed and they are very interesting.

When we entered Dun it was very spectacular and there were even a few Boche snipers left and we heard repeated noises of passing shots. As we entered town one of our boys broke into a yell.

Our P.C. is in an old chateau in a wonderful place. Fine old architecture with monstrous fireplaces and door heads. The town mostly in ruins but some houses are live-able. Out back of headquarters is a fine garden with box hedges and roses. The Boche have used it for two years or more and have put up summer houses and arbors. Find Kaiser's photo on mantle.<sup>46</sup>

The river flows right by the garden and I looked downstream and all four great bridges were hanging in ruins. The garden is full of souvenirs including bayonets, helmets, German books and odds and ends. But I can't carry them and cannot well send them. It's a pitiable sight this town and grand even in its ruin. Fine bits of bits of architecture are left only hanging. If I could only have some of it for my garden. Beautiful tiles around the walks out back. Away out across the hills the Boche is rushing with what he can take and leaving the rest. His shells drop on our roads but a score of engineers (indecipherable) too and fill it up and trucks continue. Wonderful has been our advance and I have seen more today than ever before. If my friends at home could only see these sights never to be forgotten.

We have plenty of water here and it's good. We are most through the belt of ruined towns to those not destroyed. The Boche have changed the names of streets and left sign boards everywhere and it's an amazing sight.

November 10 - we left Dun-sur-Meuse and I was sorry to go. Our new P.C. at Murvaux and next to the ruined church. Boche lived here four years and the church was used for living quarters and kitchens. Came to Murvaux with Col. Parsons and Capt. Brown. All along the way American and Boche dead lying about. In our P.C. was a dead German beside a machine gun. Don't think we will stay here long and hope not for its dirty and smells badly.

Last night the Boche shelled us and yesterday we lost lots of men. Last night we slept in a ruined French house that has one room in good condition. A huge fireplace made it possible to keep very warm and I cut down door casings, shelves and wardrobes some of which were black walnut. It made good firewood and of course was no value now. This morning as I stood

in mess line, I was called out and had to fix up a map for the corps and learned that the Armistice had been declared. Everyone very jubilant and all glad it's over.

November 12 - has been quite a wonderful day. To begin with we moved from Murvaux to Lion-devant-Dun slightly to the rear. Here we will be delivered, re-clothed and prepare to go to a well-earned rest. We are in a chateau here and quite a wonderful old place. I am almost sick at heart because I can't carry or send some of the things I can easily pack up. I have been up in the garret of the chateau and found dozens of pieces of rare old china many of them quite beautiful. Also there is thousands of dollars' worth of old mahogany and black walnut all dumped out in the yard. Fine old mirrors, chairs, and large pieces strewn everywhere. I could easily take all I want for no one is to claim it and very few appreciate its value.

Lion-Devant-Dun is in very good condition and not badly shelled. Fine spring water, plenty of billets but no civilians. Today finds us living under peace conditions. We wear no gas masks or helmets and can have all the lights we wish. It hardly seems true. We are very happy. Today we hear that we are to be cited for making the largest and best drive of the war at the crossing of the Meuse. We have made a tremendous name and the 5<sup>th</sup> has much to be proud of GHQ says that we did more to stop the Germans at this front than any other division. There are wild rumors about our going to Nice for a well-deserved rest and we are inclined to believe the story. Some wonderful days are ahead of us and we are quite happy. We are so glad it is over and America has won.

November 14 - with not much to do. I took a fine walk to Mouzay where we captured the town and liberated about 700 civilians. It is a fine place and it was mighty good to see civilians again after a month and a half. The two churches had French and American flags flying and it was sure a holiday. Went by the Charmois chateau and it's a beautiful place. Today we

are rather interested in our future. They have taken about 2,000 men, our trucks and horses, for the 1<sup>st</sup> and 42<sup>nd</sup> divisions. It's a puzzle. Our citation order came out today and we are all very proud. Tonight we found a lot of Boche flares and signals. Had great fun burning them up and made a show with different colored lights.

November 15 - this morning a beautiful one and we hear we are not to go to Germany. Most of us are glad. French civilians are coming back to Lion and it's interesting to watch them as they search for their homes and pickup things they think useful. The view is beautiful this morning and Cote St. Germain stands out against the sky like a great fortification. We are to be in the 5<sup>th</sup> Corps now and our plans are not known.

November 22 - still at Lion-Devant-Dun. Get our leather jerkins and plan to move toward Germany tomorrow. I get a German belt while here. Came from a dead German at Montfaucon. Boys have been drilling and parading on same hills they fought on. Leave tomorrow for Longuyon near Luxemburg boundary. Also one detachment mess started last week and we are eating fine. Busy on report maps and they are large and take a lot of time to make.

November 23 - move to Longuyon. Wonderful ride through Stenay, Marville, etc. on a beautiful day. Longuyon a fine town with Boche only out a week. Fine billets, civilians, plenty of wood and a mess hall. Establish headquarters in the Hotel de Ville. Found fine French uniform of burgomaster who was killed in 1914. It was made of red broadcloth and very beautiful. Several of us need some new red diamonds (our division insignia) so we appropriated the Frenchman's red cap and made about a dozen.

November 24 - started for Chaumont with Col. Parsons, Capt. Snyder, and Lt. Allen with maps to have printed. Went in the Chief of Staff Winton Six and had fine ride to Verdun, Lorilly, Bar le Due, Neuf Chateau to Chaumont. Did shopping there and went to headquarters.

Next morning November 25 - left Chaumont for Bar-Sur-Aube then back to Chaumont. At noon started for home and hot lunch at Bourborne, a fine place, then to the Vosges to Plombiers, fine resort with unusually beautiful hotels, parks, and scenery. Then to Arches and Épinal to Charmes where we had something to eat. Then to Toul, Épinal, Spincourt to Longuyon arriving at 3 a.m. after a day's travel of 7:30 a.m. to 3 a.m. the next morning without rest.

Thanksgiving, November 28 - at Longuyon. Fine celebration in square at 10 a.m. Address by General Ely. Went for walk in afternoon and wrote in evening. Visited Field Hospital 30 at Longuyon and found them in a large hotel with lots of patients mostly liberated prisoners. Went for a walk about town and saw the great smelting and mining plants.

December 4 - moved from Longuyon via Longwy, Rodange, to Luxemburg. Finest trip of all. Great enthusiasm. Contempt for Germans who had looted this country on their retreat back to Germany. American flag all homemade, some with no stars, some with two or three, others with stars on the stripes and many made from red petticoats. But even though did not know how to make the flag the spirit was very wonderful. Noticeable difference in neatness, children and architecture on crossing border. Given great welcome and flags everywhere. German spoken but decided feeling for the Americans. Beautiful children, may flaxen haired. Arrive at Luxembourg wonderful lunch. Hamburg steaks, mashed potatoes, salad, beer and cognac. Never appreciated anything so much and first time for months the boys had really eaten. Everything German and have trouble with Marks as are more than Francs.

Headquarters in a large schoolhouse and Rob and I get billets in private home at 1 Mark a day. Rob and I get a fine supper and buy some things but everything very high. Small piece of chocolate 2 Marks, cup of chocolate 1 Mark etc. Beautiful doors, fine hotels, and fine looking people. Am quite taken with this place and have a respect for the people.

Next day we go shopping and to see the sights. The children are very cute and I walked down the main street with three of them holding my hand. They pick up English easily and always say "Good Morning," "Good Evening," and one tot came up to me and said, "I am your friend." The stores are great and very fine lace and linen is on sale made in Belgium and Switzerland.

Pictures are also very fine and interesting to me. We saw the royal palace, the small Luxembourg army and the six cannon, four of which only can shoot. They can't shoot these because if they do they will shoot out of their own country. We have some trouble with the exchange of money. The comparative value of the Franc and Mark being different. Soldiers have stripped the town of chocolate. I saw a cake for 25 Francs. We get good beer. Also have some ice cream that was great but paid 2 Marks (50 cents) for a small serving. I like the people and country about as well as any I have seen this side of the water. Steam trains, electric cars, stores and pictures, handkerchiefs, linens, German watercolors, etc.

December 12 - we have to leave Luxembourg proper for Merl-Belair, a suburb. Marshall Foch has made the city his headquarters and the Americans have to get out. We don't like it very much as we had such a fine time there. So very funny things have happened in Luxembourg. They have a popular drink schnapps and knowing the great value of soap a fellow who had some from the commissary paid for his drinks with soap. He would throw down a small cake on the table and found he could get two glasses for it and they were glad to do business that way. Some fellows found they could pay their room rent for a week for a bar of chocolate easily. Now that we have changed all our money into German we find we have to change it back to Francs again for Luxembourg are not to consider German Marks as legal tender. We have been able to buy a lot of stuff at the Y and they had a good place for us to read and write.

One evening Col. Cosgrove spoke and once more I must say I think him an exceptional speaker. Luxembourgers do not like the idea of the Americans leaving and the French coming in. For instance, an American will go into a cafe and buy three glasses of beer and get up and go out but a Frenchman will order one glass and spend the whole evening there sipping and talking. We have had no cold weather and they say we won't have. We are now out of the Third Army and in the Second and eventually we will go to Esch-sur-Alzette in southern Luxemburg.

December 17 - we leave Merl and arrived in Esch at 11 a.m. A fine city of a large size with several steel plants. We get a good billet and are told it will not cost us anything. Our headquarters in a large schoolhouse and a fine mess hall in the basement. 33<sup>rd</sup> Division gets out for us and we are given a fine welcome.

Christmas day and we have been in Esch several days, have a fine billets, and we do not have to pay for it. The lady does our washing, her husband our tailoring, and won't let us pay. We have given them some underwear which is very expensive here being about 30 Marks a garment. We have drawn new clothes though rather than throw our old away we gave them to the folks. We spend our evenings in a very fine and well conducted cafe. Two girls run it and their fiancés are always there too. We call each of them "sister" and we stand in with them quite well. A civilian told us that they said we always came there and they liked to have us sing. Also we were very nice and orderly. We have a delightful time there each evening with piano and violin. We are to have a goose dinner and it is a white Christmas. No work and expect a good day about town. We went to our cafe and borrowed a piano for music and singing at our Christmas dinner.

#### **War Diary Endnotes**

- 1. The *RMS Mauretania* was a British luxury ocean liner that held records for size and speed. The ship was named after the ancient Roman province on the northwest coast of Africa. During the war, it was converted to a troopship and was painted in a variety of "dazzle camouflage" configurations to help conceal its heading and speed from German submarines. The ship safely carried tens of thousands of American troops and supplies across the ocean, unlike its sister ship, the *RMS Lusitania*, that was sunk in 1915.
- 2. Prince appears to have wrongly recorded the number of the Torpedo Boat, as *TB-25 USS Barney* was being refitted at the Charleston Navy Yard at the time of the incident.
- 3. From 1917 until the end of the war, the Morn Hill Camp was the base for some 750,000 Americans who passed through Great Britain.
- 4. The Belgian government in exile was based in Le Havre in northern France after the country was defeated and almost entirely occupied by the German Empire in 1914.
- 5. The likely railway route passed through Mantes-la-Jolie, Vaux-sur-Seine, Triel-sur-Seine, Le Bourget, Noisy-le-Sec or Noisy-le-Grand, Nougat La Linoise, Longueville, Chartres, Troyes, Bayel, Épinal, Bruyères, and Grand Meix or Gérardmer.
- 6. A slur against Germans.
- 7. Prince suggests that American troops did not abide by the gentleman's agreement to make use of the stream on alternating days with the Germans.
- 8. F.H. denotes Field Hospital.
- 9. The G-2-C section of the Division headquarters was the map section of the intelligence unit.
- 10. A non-military structure used to lodge soldiers.
- 11. Prince noted in his unpublished essay *Told from the Inside* that "nearly all the maps used by [the] army were secret and fully one half of these were plainly stamped so in red ink. Many of them had a complete plan of our trench system, ammunition and supply dumps so that their use was restricted and never allowed near the front line trenches."
- 12. "We also received numerous aeroplane photographs that told us much about the enemy movements and this information formed perhaps the most interesting phase of the finer details of modern warfare," from "Told from the Inside."
- 13. Young Men's Christian Association.

- 14. *USS Covington* was an American troop transport. On 1 July 1918, a German U-boat torpedoed the transport, which was scuttled the next day with six men killed. Prior to the war the ship, the ship was known as the *SS Cincinnati* of the Hamburg America Line.
- 15. Liquid fire machine likely means a flamethrower.
- 16. "The basis of all American maps was the French 1:80,000 scale map... which was used as a key for printing in other scales and colors. This work was done by the 29<sup>th</sup> U.S. Engineers at Langres, France where they had a complete and modern equipment of presses. From here the maps were sent to this First, Second and Third Armies and they in turn distributed them to the Corps. The Corps distributed to the divisions within their own area and the divisions sent them to their respective team," from "Told from the Inside."
- 17. "Sent to Chaumont, France Pershing's headquarters for intensive study of map work and aeroplane photography under the French and British. Was the first man in the U.S. Army to receive this training," from "Told from the Inside."
- 18. A slur against French people.
- 19. U.S. Marines are not technically part of the U.S. Army.
- 20. German soldiers.
- 21. Croix de Guerre is a military decoration of France created in 1915 and consists of a square-cross medal on two crossed swords, hanging from a ribbon with various degree pins.
- 22. Slang for lice.
- 23. The  $92^{nd}$  Division was composed of all black soldiers and white officers. It participated in the Meuse-Argonne Offensive.
- 24. Frapelle is a French town. Prince likely meant the first Americans to liberate a town from German control.
- 25. "On August 17, 1918, at 4.04 a.m., the 6<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment of the 5<sup>th</sup> Division attacked Frapelle after 10 minutes of bombarding of the German lines. The mission consisted in seizing Frapelle and Hill 451, north of the village. The Regiment was helped by two platoons of the 7th Engineers Regiment, the 13<sup>th</sup> Machine Gun Battalion, 36 artillery batteries and a detachment of the 99<sup>th</sup> American Aero Squadron that came from Dogneville, near Epinal," from *The 5<sup>th</sup> Division at Frapelle* by Eric Mansuy of Aydoilles, France.
- 26. "The Division left the sector by August 23 and moved to Arches where the headquarters were established until August 29. Shortly after that rest, the 5<sup>th</sup> Division was transferred towards Saint-Mihiel where it participated in the victorious September 12 offensive. The Division lost 729 men in the Vosges," from *The 5th Division at Frapelle*.

- 27. Alice E. Ives of Salem, Massachusetts married Prince in 1919 Albert A. Reed et al, *Advertising and Selling Company* (New York), Volume 29, June 7, 1919, No. 40, 37.
- 28. "Weeks before the division went into the line we received a great number of maps of the new sector for study and plans of operation. These were of different scales and included artillery objective maps of 1:20,000 scale showing important crossroads and points to be shelled these were also special circulation maps for the ammunition, supply and ambulance trains which designated by colored lines certain roads as one-way roads and others as being unpassable or mined. These maps were of great especially when the drive for ambulances from the front and supplies and ammunition going up must be kept moving on open arteries of travel," from "Told from the Inside."
- 29. The 89<sup>th</sup> Division was called the Sunflower Division, because its 353rd Infantry Regiment was stationed in Kansas and wore a sunflower patch in honor of the state.
- 30. Prince likely saw a French Renault tank. France supplied 267 of them to the AEF for the offensive.
- 31. General headquarters.
- 32. Domèvre-en-Haye.
- 33. The call of surrendering German troops.
- 34. German belt buckles were inscribed with the phrase "Gott mit uns," ("God [is] with us"). The phrase relates to the biblical prophecy written in Isaiah 7:14 that a child will be born to a young woman and will be given the name Emmanuel, which is interpreted to mean God is with us.
- 35. Presumably the C. Crawford Holidge Department Store, which opened in 1918 and sold high-end women's clothing.
- 36. The Meuse-Argonne Offensive began on September 26, 1918, and ended with the November 11<sup>th</sup> Armistice. The attack was part of a large Allied offensive across the entire Western Front. The Americans and Allies suffered some 192,000 casualties, largely because the inexperienced Americans employed dangerous open-field tactics that exposed the troops to heavy fire; the Germans and their allies suffered some 126,000 casualties.
- 37. G-2 is an American unit's intelligence section and G-3 is operations and plans.
- 38. Fort Douaumont was the largest and highest fort on the ring of nineteen large defensive forts protecting the city of Verdun.
- 39. Slang for "work" or "problem."
- 40. Slang for the German forces.

- 41. Army slang for canned corned beef.
- 42. "Before the plans to place the pontoons were perfected it was necessary to study the irregular course of the Meuse and the narrow but troublesome canal along its side. Consequently our aviators were sent out well over the enemy lines to get pictures and whatever information was available. Visibility war poor but excellent pictures were made of the section of the river all the way from our front lines north to Sedan. All the bridges appeared to be torn down either by our own destructive artillery fire or destroyed by the Germans themselves. The use of these aeroplane photographs and later a personal reconnaissance decided the vantage points where the Red Diamond boys were to stream across the river against the Huns who were strongly set up on the heights on the other side. We received photographs taken at a height of 1500 meters in the vicinity of Dieue-sur-Meuse that showed the Boche in the streets of the town, two large German hospitals and elaborate defense movements on the heights overlooking the river. All of this was important and every bit of information entered into the plans that carried us over on the pontoons a few days later," from "Told from the Inside."

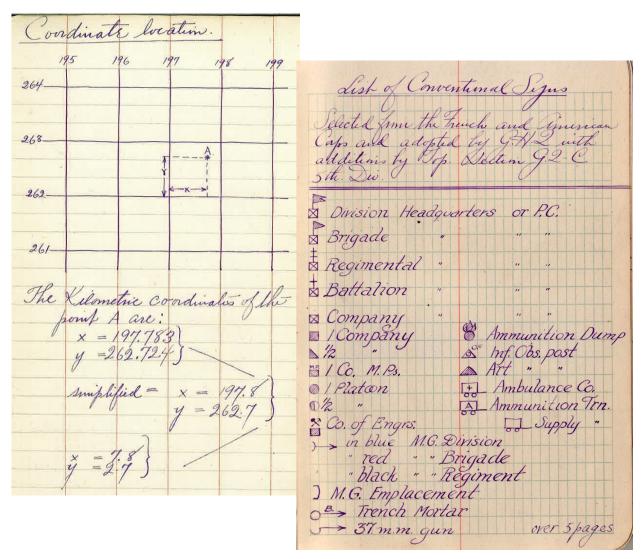
"Photographs give remarkable information and by the process of restitution this information is placed on maps for working use. Perhaps the camera in the sky may click just at the right moment to betray a big gun position by a burst of white smoke. Or perhaps a number of apparently interesting looking trails lead into a bit of woods. The camera gets all of these things and the pictures are studied carefully under powerful glasses. If it is decided that suspicious looking tracks lead to a hidden battery the exact location is formed on the map by a system of common points. Once this location is plotted it is sent to the artillery who get the range and needless to say find the mark," from "Told from the Inside."

- 43. The Ottoman Empire, which Prince refers to as Turkey, surrendered to the Allies on October 30, 1918. The Austro-Hungarian Empire, which Prince calls Austria, was collapsing from within, as its various constituent ethnic groups began to rebel and its troops began to mutiny. On November 3, Austro-Hungary signed a peace treaty with Italy, and the crumbling empire was all but out of the war.
- 44. "Met General Pershing personally on [November] 1, 1918 while I was working on my maps and showed him our front line position," from "Highlights of My Life."
- 45. German grenades.
- 46. "The days just prior to the Armistice found our system working good. Aviators brought back pictures of a general evacuation of the enemy along roads toward Sedan, Montmédy, and Luxembourg. Some roads appeared actually choked with motor trucks, ambulances, big guns and troops all making a hasty retreat. Message after message was dropt to us from planes telling of the enemy rout. We located these points and picked important crossroads as good marks. These were given to the artillery who open up with destructive, intermittent, harassing and every variety of artillery fire on the great bewildered retreating mass of Huns. It resulted in complete demoralization and terrific loses," from "Told from the Inside."

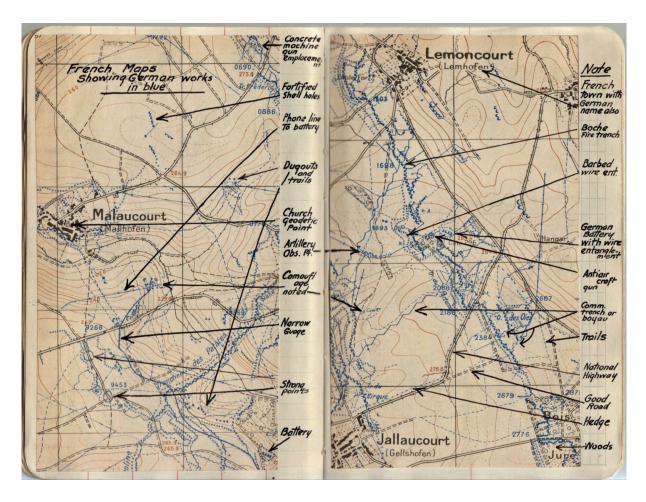
# Maps, Drawings, and Photographs Created and Compiled by Willard B. Prince



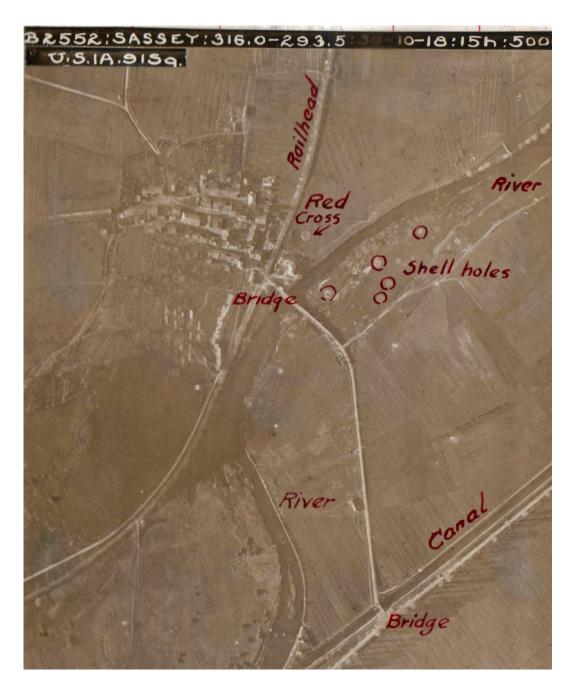
A photo taken in France of Willard B. Prince and other unnamed American soldiers; Prince is on the far right, dressed in an overcoat and wearing the M1917 steel helmet, which was known as the "Doughboy" helmet to Americans. It was copied from the British Brodie helmet that was designed to guard men from shrapnel exploding overhead, but neither it nor the vaunted German *Stahlhelm* ("steel helmet") could stop a direct hit from a bullet (Folder 9).



Prince was instructed by the French and then by his fellow Americans in the discipline of wartime cartography. Understanding how to plot points on a grid was part of the basic training that he and his fellow classmates were expected to master quickly. He also had to absorb the nomenclature and learn the "Conventional Signs" used to populate intelligence data on French topographic survey maps (Box 2).



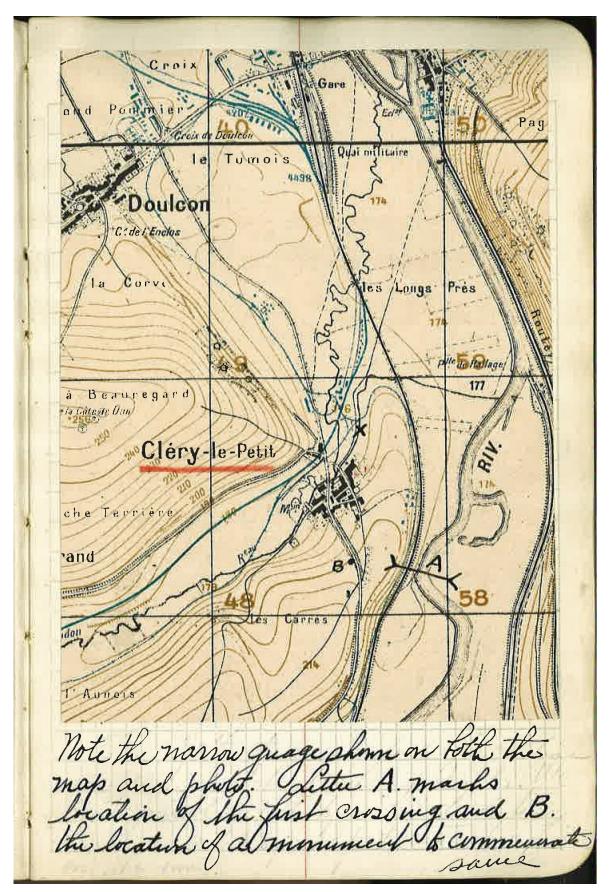
Above is Prince's study of a French intelligence map. The goal was to identify terrain features and the elements of the battlefield that included machine gun and battery emplacements, phone lines, observation posts, barbed wire, and trenches. Mastering this step was essential, as he would later have to map targets for artillery fire or infantry attack (Box 1).

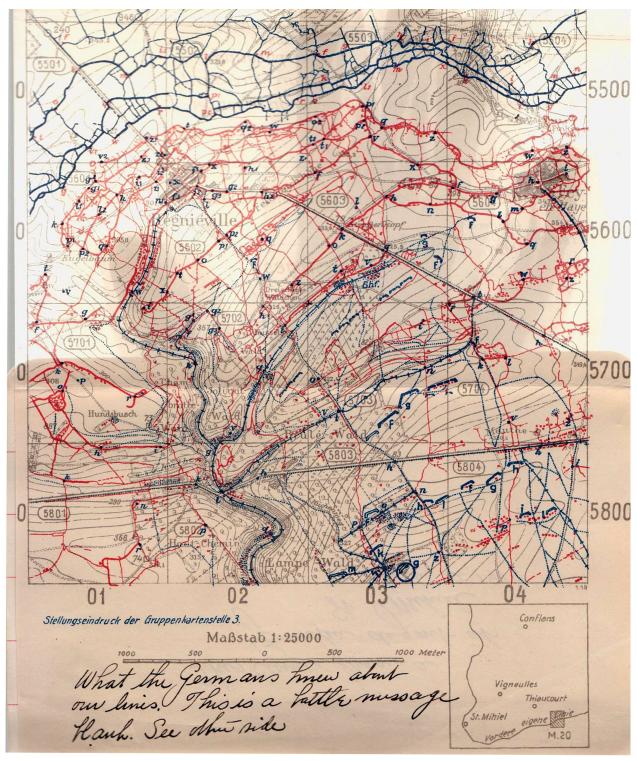


In this analysis of an aerial photograph, Prince notes bridges, railhead, the Red Cross, and shell holes. Planes were regularly dispatched to photograph areas that had been shelled so that a damage assessment could be conducted. Mapmakers compared photos of before and after a barrage and updated maps to reflect any changes on the battlefield (Box 1).



The photograph and map are of Clery-le-Petit, a town where the 5<sup>th</sup> Division crossed the Meuse River in 1918. Prince notes "Bare Walls" to draw attention to the buildings that were destroyed or damaged by the fighting. Below the map on the right, Prince notes the location of the crossing and where a monument was later erected in honor of the important event (Box 1).





"What the Germans knew about our lines. This is a battle message... from a German dugout at St. Mihiel Sept. 12, 1918." Captured maps, such as the one above, were important sources of information about the enemy's position and strength, as well as revealing what they knew about Allied forces (Box 1).

## Offizielle Zahlen.

Die zwischen dem 1. und 30. September eingebrachte Kriegsbeute der Armeen der Entente auf der Westfront beträgt :

2.844 Offiziere
120.292 Mann
1.500 Geschüße
über 10.000 Maschinengewehre.

Die Gefamtbente, die von den verbündeten Urmeen auf allen Kriegsichaupläsen zwischen dem 15. Juli und 30. September eingebracht wurde, beträgt :

5.518 Djffziere 248.494 Mann 3.669 Geschüße über 23.000 Mäschinengewehre.

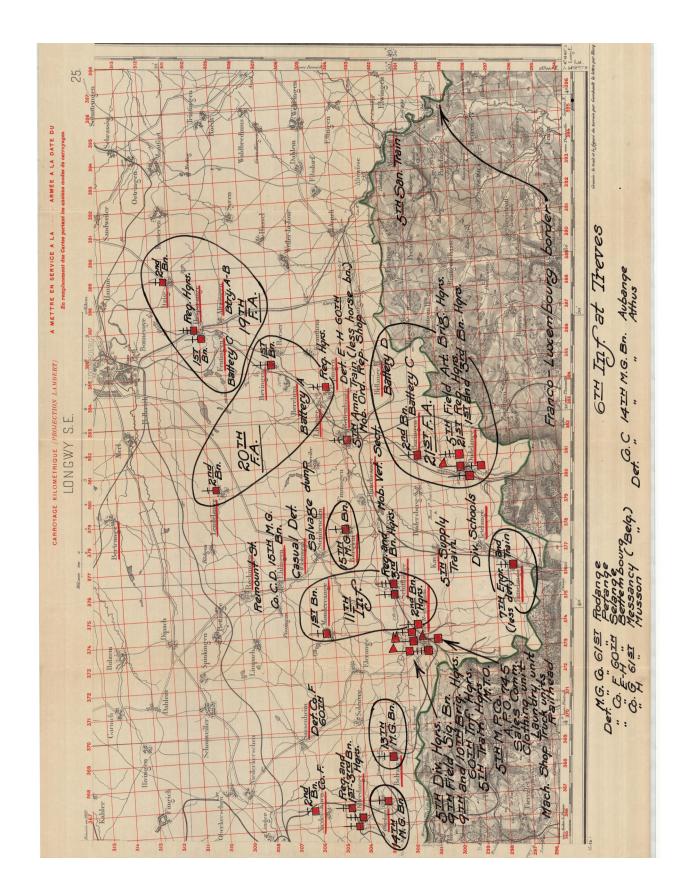


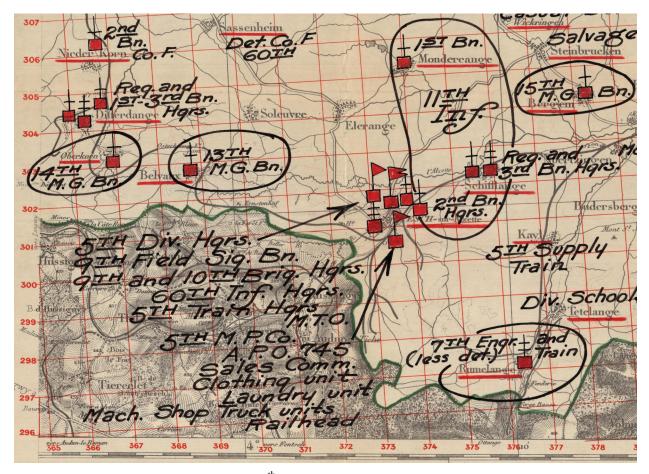
Der Deutsche Rückzug von 15 Juli an 10 Oftober 1918.

### Ginige Fragen an die Deutschen Soldaten.

- 1. Werdet Ihr jemals wieder fo ftark fein als im Juli 1918?
- 2. Berden Enre Gegner täglich ffarter ober ichwacher?
- 3. Haben Euch die graufamen Verlufte die Ihr 1918 erlitten habt, den Siegfrieden gebracht, den Euch Eure Führer verprochen haben?
- 4. Sabt Ihr noch leifeste hoffnung auf einen Gieg?
- 5. Bollt Ihr Guer Leben laffen in einem boffnungslofen Rampf?

The Allies dropped propaganda leaflets over German lines that implored them to surrender. The example here depicts the advance of Allied forces, and the bar graph boasts of 1.9 million American troops bolstering the Allied strength in France. The bottom portion questions German soldiers about risking their lives for a lost cause (Box 1).





After the war, a large portion of the 5<sup>th</sup> Division was garrisoned in Luxembourg, which is depicted in this map by Prince. He was stationed with the headquarters unit, as shown in the cropped portion above (Folder 14).

In the bottom margin of the map, on left, Prince noted that the 6<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment was garrisoned in the city of Treves (known today as Trier). Located on the banks of the Moselle River, it was considered a gateway city into Germany. On December 1, 1918, the regiment entered the German city, where it remained until February 1919.





A pair of postcards collected by Prince that show the retreat of the defeated Germans back to their homeland and the entrance of the victorious American troops into Luxembourg. Note that the Germans appear to be unarmed and march without a flag or banner, whereas the Americans have rifles resting upon their shoulders and belts filled with ammunition while proudly displaying the Stars and Stripes (Portfolio 32).

# Contents of the Willard B. Prince Collection G5831.S65 coll .P7 Vault : Prince

- Box 1. War Diary, Willard B. Prince, June 1917 December 1918.
- Box 2. "Field Book 2, September 30, 1918."
- Book 3. Fifth Regular Division Book.
- Folder 4. "Told from the Inside by former Regimental Sergeant Major W.B. Prince, 5th Division Headquarters."
- Folder 5. "Reminiscence of a Topographical Man in the U.S. Army."
- Folder 6. Headquarters Fifth Division, November 21, 1918.
- Folder 7. Newspaper photo of the Mauretania, 1918.
- Folder 8. "Battle maps of Napoleon, Foch and Pershing by Willard B. Prince, Formerly Regt.
- Sgt. Major, G-2-6, A.E.F. A Story."
- Folder 9. Collection of eight photographs, 1918.
- Folder 10. Map on cardboard, November 2, 1918.
- Folder 11. Division Crest Design by Willard B. Prince.
- Folder 12. First Reunion of 5th Division.
- Folder 13. Field Order No. 1, May 15, 1919.
- Folder 14. Three French Maps, 1918.
- Folders 15-21. Scrapbook pages.
- Folder 22. [Aerial photograph composite] Taken from a German Dugout South of Metz, September 13-18, 1918.
- Folder 23. A.B.C. Railway Guide.
- Folder 24. Map showing route of the Fifth Division from the Base Ports to the Training Areas, then to the Front and lastly to the "Army of Occupation" Zone.
- Folder 25. Four letters and one memorandum, October 15, 1918.
- Folder 26. (Manuscript) Maps to Show the Movements and Locations of the 5th Division in France, 1918.
- Folder 27. Letter from Charles Weber to Willard B. Prince, August 29, 1918.
- Box 28. "Permanent Record and Data" book by Willard B. Prince, 1905 1936.
- Folder 29. Downtown Athletic Club Journal, October 1949.

Folder 30. Confidential Memo, HQ, 5th Division, September 30, 1918.

Folder 31. Liberty, March 24, 1928.

Portfolio 32. "Post Cards of Europe and the War. W.B.P."

#### **Note on Front and Back Cover**

The photomontage on the cover is made up of items from the *Willard B. Prince Collection*. The photograph on the back cover is from Prince's diary. American soldiers are seated on the deck of a ship and ready to depart for the war. Prince added the note: "How it looked."



The Philip Lee Phillips Map Society of the Library of Congress is named in honor of Philip Lee Phillips (1857-1924), the first Superintendent of Maps at the Library of Congress when the Hall of Maps and Charts was established in 1897.

The group is a non-profit, voluntary association whose objective is to develop, enhance, and promote the work of the Geography and Map Division by advancing its publication, education, exhibition, preservation and acquisition programs.





